12301.g.49.

Eulogies and Orations.

BRITISH MUSEUM

EULOGIES AND ORATIONS

ON THE

LIFE and *DEATH*

OF

General George Washington,

FIRST PRESIDENT

OF THE

United States of America.

Heu pietas! heu priſca fides! invictaque bello
Dextera! VIRG.

"THE MOURNFUL TRIBUTE OF A NATION'S LOVE."
CALDWELL.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY MANNING & LORING,
For W. P. & L. BLAKE, No. 1, Cornhill,
and MANNING & LORING, No. 2, Cornhill.

1800.

331

Sent to West

CONTENTS.

	Page
FUNERAL ORATION, By Major-General Henry Lee - -	9
AN EULOGY, By the Hon. George Richards Minot -	19
AN EULOGY, By Jonathan Mitchel Sewall, Esq. - -	30
AN ORATION, By the Hon. Gouverneur Morris - -	44
AN EULOGY, By Thomas Paine, A. M. - - -	55
AN EULOGY, By the Hon. John Brooks - -	67
AN ORATION, By the Hon. David Ramsay - -	76
MASONIC EULOGY, By George Blake, Esq. - - -	97
AN ORATION, By the Hon. Fisher Ames - - -	108
AN EULOGY, By the Hon. Timothy Bigelow - -	130
AN EULOGY, By John Davis, Esq. - - -	142
A FUNERAL EULOGY, By the Rev. William Linn, D. D. - -	158
AN ORATION, By the Hon. Jeremiah Smith - -	176
AN ORATION, By Doctor Joseph Blyth - - -	196
AN ORATION, By the Hon. Isaac Parker - - -	216
A FUNERAL ORATION, By the Rev. John M. Mason - -	229

EULOGIUM, *Page*
By Major William Jackſon - - 243
EULOGY,
By Charles Pinckney Sumner, A. M. - 261
A FUNERAL ORATION,
By Joſiah Dunham, Eſq. - - - 273
A DISCOURSE,
By the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland - 283

I NO 61

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS a memorial of veneration and gratitude to the "MAN OF THE AGE," this volume is preſented to the Public. In ſelecting its contents from the numerous Orations delivered on the death of this illuſtrious character, the Publiſhers have been guided leſs by their own, than by public opinion.

Many Orations, probably of equal merit with thoſe contained in this volume, have from neceſſity been omitted. They have aimed to take ſome of the moſt valuable that have been delivered in different States.

☞ Copyrights of many of the Eulogies and Orations inſerted in this volume, have been ſecured according to Law.

I NO 61

EULOGIES AND ORATIONS.

Funeral Oration

ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF CONGRESS, DEC. 26, 1799.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY LEE,
Member of Congreſs from Virginia.

IN obedience to your* will, I riſe your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the ſyſtem of public mourning which you have been pleaſed to adopt, commemorative of the death of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt beloved perſonage this country has ever produced; and which, while it tranſmits to poſterity your ſenſe of the awful event, faintly repreſents your knowledge of the conſummate excellence you ſo cordially honour.

Deſperate, indeed, is any attempt on earth to meet correſpondently this diſpenſation of Heaven; for, while with pious reſignation we ſubmit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never ceaſe lamenting, in our finite view of Omnipotent Wiſdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world ſhakes to its centre; when every moment gives birth to ſtrange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any ſhare in the ſlaughter of the

* The two Houſes of Congreſs.

human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to riſk the doleful caſualties of war; what limit is there to the extent of our loſs? None within the reach of my words to expreſs; none which your feelings will not diſavow.

The founder of our federate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more! O that this were but queſtionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us; our WASHINGTON is removed forever! Poſſeſſing the ſtouteſt frame and pureſt mind, he had paſſed nearly to his ſixty-eighth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himſelf, a ſlight cold, diſregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppreſſive on Saturday, and, defying every medical interpoſition, before the morning of Sunday put an end to the beſt of men. An end, did I ſay? His fame ſurvives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He ſurvives in our hearts—in the growing knowledge of our children—in the affection of the good throughout the world. And when our monuments ſhall be done away; when nations now exiſting ſhall be no more; when even our young and far-ſpreading empire ſhall have periſhed; ſtill will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded ſhine, and die not, until love of virtue ceaſe on earth, or earth itſelf ſinks into chaos!

How, my fellow-citizens, ſhall I ſingle to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth? Where ſhall I begin, in opening to your view a character throughout ſublime? Shall I ſpeak of his warlike achievements, all ſpringing from obedience to his country's will, all directed to his country's good?

Will you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to ſee your youthful WASHINGTON ſupporting, in the diſmal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated Braddock, and ſaving, by his judgment and by his valour, the remains of a defeated army, preſſed by the conquering ſavage foe? or when, oppreſſed America no-

bly reſolving to riſk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congreſs to the command of her armies? Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boſton, where, to an undiſciplined, courageous and virtuous yeomanry, his preſence gave the ſtability of ſyſtem, and infuſed the invincibility of love of country? Or ſhall I carry you to the painful ſcenes of Long-Iſland, York-Iſland and New-Jerſey, when, combating ſuperior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he ſtood the bulwark of our ſafety, undiſmayed by diſaſter, unchanged by change of fortune? Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom, unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks—himſelf unmoved? Dreadful was the night. It was about this time of winter. The ſtorm raged. The Delaware, rolling furiouſly with floating ice, forbad the approach of man. WASHINGTON, ſelf-collected, viewed the tremendous ſcene. His country called. Unappalled by ſurrounding dangers, he paſſed to the hoſtile ſhore; he fought; he conquered. The morning ſun cheered the American world. Our country roſe on the event; and her dauntleſs Chief, purſuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton, what his vaſt ſoul had conceived on the ſhores of Delaware.

Thence to the ſtrong grounds of Morriſtown he led his ſmall but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whoſe matchleſs force was meaſurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hoſtile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valour on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell Wolfe, Montcalm, and ſince, our much lamented Montgomery; all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his maſterly conduct, our fathers, ourſelves, animated by his reſiſtleſs example, rallied around our country's ſtandard, and continued to follow her beloved Chief through the

various and trying ſcenes to which the deſtinies of our Union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine, the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth? Every where preſent, wants of every kind obſtructing, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himſelf a hoſt, he aſſuaged our ſufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I diſplay to you the ſpread of the fire of his ſoul, by rehearſing the praiſes of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas? No: our WASHINGTON wears not borrowed glory. To Gates, to Greene, he gave without reſerve the applauſe due to their eminent merit; and long may the chiefs of Saratoga and of Eutaws, receive the grateful reſpect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his moſt diſtant ſatellites; and combining the phyſical and moral force of all within his ſphere, with irreſiſtible weight he took his courſe, commiſerating folly, diſdaining vice, diſmaying treaſon, and invigorating deſpondency; until the auſpicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to ſubmiſſion the ſince conqueror of India; thus finiſhing his long career of military glory with a luſtre correſponding to his great name, and, in this his laſt act of war, affixing the ſeal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle ſweet peace ſucceeded; and our virtuous Chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting perſonal aggrandizement, huſhed the diſcontents of growing ſedition, and, ſurrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his ſword into a ploughſhare; teaching an admiring world, that to be truly great you muſt be truly good.

Were I to ſtop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the taſk impoſed unfiniſhed. Great as was our WASHINGTON in war, and as much as did that greatneſs contribute to produce the American republic,

it is not in war alone his pre-eminence ſtands conſpicuous. His various talents, combining all the capacities of a ſtateſman with thoſe of a ſoldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he reſted from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was ſtill ſounding in our ears, when he, who had been our ſhield and our ſword, was called forth to act a leſs ſplendid, but more important part.

Poſſeſſing a clear and penetrating mind, a ſtrong and ſound judgment, calmneſs and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmneſs and perſeverance in reſolutions maturely formed; drawing information from all; acting from himſelf, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotiſm; his own ſuperiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man deſigned by Heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have diſtinguiſhed the era of his life.

The finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither miſtaken nor unobſerved, when, to realize the vaſt hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political ſyſtem became indiſpenſable.

How novel, how grand the ſpectacle! Independent States ſtretched over an immenſe territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their ſafety; deciding, by frank compariſon of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reaſon, a common government, through whoſe commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of bleſſings, ſhould be ſafe to themſelves, and the ſure inheritance of their poſterity.

This arduous taſk devolved on citizens ſelected by the people, from knowledge of their wiſdom and confidence in their virtue. In this auguſt aſſembly of ſages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of courſe was found; and, as if acknowledged to be moſt wiſe where all were wiſe, with one voice he was declared their Chief. How well he merited this rare diſtinction, how faithful were the labours of himſelf and his compatriots, the work

of their hands, and our union, ſtrength and proſperity, the fruits of that work, beſt atteſt.

But to have eſſentially aided in preſenting to his country this conſummation of her hopes, neither ſatisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor thoſe duties which the poſſeſſion of thoſe talents impoſed. Heaven had not infuſed into his mind ſuch an uncommon ſhare of its ethereal ſpirit to remain unemployed, nor beſtowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the correſponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a Conſtitution, was ſhewing only, without realizing, the general happineſs. This great work remained to be done; and America, ſtedfaſt in her preference, with one voice ſummoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractiſed as he was in the duties of civil adminiſtration, to execute this laſt act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he aſſumed the high office with that ſelf-diſtruſt peculiar to his innate modeſty, the conſtant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burſt of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event, is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonſtrations of their gratitude; and this high-wrought, delightful ſcene was heightened in its effect, by the ſingular conteſt between the zeal of the beſtowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honours beſtowed.

Commencing his adminiſtration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wiſe principles announced by himſelf, as the baſis of his political life? He beſt underſtood the indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and individual felicity. Watching with an equal and comprehenſive eye over this great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, baſed on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government by all the attri-

butes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the reſpect of the world.

" O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona norint !"

Leading through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting intereſts, ſeconded by ſucceeding Houſes of Congreſs, enlightened and patriotic, he ſurmounted all original obſtruction, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

The preſidential term expiring, his ſolicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned with a force increaſed with increaſe of age ; and he had prepared his Farewell Addreſs to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interpoſition of all around him, enforced by the eventful proſpects of the epoch, produced a further ſacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of Preſident followed ; and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to reſume the Chief Magiſtracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence ! Which attracts moſt our admiration, a people ſo correct, or a citizen combining an aſſemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and ſtifling even envy itſelf ? Such a nation ought to be happy ; ſuch a Chief muſt be for ever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out ; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to ſhed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the firſt, out-ſtretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American eagle ſoared triumphant through diſtant foreſts. Peace followed victory ; and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue ! which uplifts even the ſubdued ſavage.

To the ſecond he oppoſed himſelf. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the ſtake. Soon did his penetrating mind diſcern and ſeize the only courſe, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He iſſued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole ſubſequent conduct, was ſanctioned by the

approbation of both Houſes of Congreſs, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this ſublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intruſion, unſhaken by domeſtic turbulence.

> "Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus inſtantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit ſolida."

Maintaining his pacific ſyſtem at the expenſe of no duty, America, faithful to herſelf, and unſtained in her honour, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miſeries of an unexampled war; miſeries in which our happy country muſt have ſhared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

Purſuing ſtedfaſtly his courſe, he held ſafe the public happineſs, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal diſcord, till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted, but inextinguiſhable deſire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

The promulgation of his fixed reſolution ſtopped the anxious wiſhes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous teſtimonial of their unabated confidence in the man ſo long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth? Turn over the records of ancient Greece; review the annals of mighty Rome; examine the volumes of modern Europe—you ſearch in vain. AMERICA and her WASHINGTON only afford the dignified exemplification.

The illuſtrious perſonage called by the national voice in ſucceſſion to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter. The amicable effort of ſettling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and purſued by his ſucceſſor in virtue as in ſtation, proving abortive, America took meaſures of ſelf-defence. No ſooner was the public mind rouſed

by a proſpect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though ſecluded from public view, and grey in public ſervice. The virtuous veteran, following his plough,* received the unexpected ſummons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to riſk his all in her defence.

The annunciation of theſe feelings in his affecting letter to the Preſident, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

Firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the hearts of his countrymen, he was ſecond to none in the humble and endearing ſcenes of private life. Pious, juſt, humane, temperate and ſincere ; uniform, dignified and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example laſting.

To his equals he was condeſcending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender. Correct throughout, vice ſhuddered in his preſence, and virtue always felt his foſtering hand. The purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His laſt ſcene comported with the whole tenor of his life. Although in extreme pain, not a ſigh, not a groan eſcaped him ; and with undiſturbed ſerenity he cloſed his well-ſpent life. Such was the man America has loſt ! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns !

Methinks I ſee his auguſt image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, theſe deep ſinking words :

" CEASE, Sons of AMERICA, lamenting our ſeparation. Go on, and confirm by your wiſdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion ; diffuſe knowledge throughout your land ; patronize the arts and ſciences ; let liberty and order be inſeparable companions ; control party ſpirit, the bane of free government ; obſerve good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations ;

* General WASHINGTON, though opulent, gave much of his time to practical agriculture.

ſhut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connexion; rely on yourſelves only: be American in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the conſtant object of my terreſtrial labours: thus will you preſerve undiſturbed to the lateſt poſterity, the felicity of a people to me moſt dear; and thus will you ſupply (if my happineſs is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliſs high Heaven beſtows."

An Eulogy

ON GEORGE WASHINGTON, LATE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Delivered before the Inhabitants of the Town of *BOSTON*, at the Requeſt of their Committee, *Jan.* 9, 1800.

BY GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, A.M. A.A.S.

OUR duty, my Fellow-Townſmen, on this diſtreſſing occaſion, is dictated by the dignity and reſplendent virtue of the beloved Man whoſe death we deplore. We aſſemble to pay a debt to departed merit; a debt which we can only pay by the ſincerity of our grief, and the reſpectful effuſions of gratitude: for the higheſt eulogy left us to beſtow upon our lamented WASHINGTON, is the ſtrict narration of the truth, and the loftieſt character which we can aſſign to him, is the very diſplay of himſelf. When ambition allies itſelf to guilt; when power tramples upon right; when victory triumphs in blood; when piety ſits clouded in ſuperſtition; when humility is affected by cunning; when patriotiſm is founded on ſelfiſhneſs: then let adulation ſpread her proſtituted mantle, to ſcreen the diſgraces of her patrons, and amuſe with the falſehoods of her imagination. But to our political Father, the faithful page of hiſtory is panegyric, and the happineſs of his country is the monument of his fame.

Come, then, Warriors! Stateſmen! Philoſophers! Citizens! aſſemble round the tomb of this favourite ſon of virtue; with all the luxury of ſorrow recollect the important events of his life, and partake of the greateſt legacy which a mortal could bequeath you, in the contemplation of his example. Whilſt we ſolemnize this act, his diſembodied ſpirit, if it be permitted

to retrace the ſcenes of its terreſtrial exiſtence, will ſmile with approbation on the inſtructive rite.

Your anniverſaries have long honoured the eleventh of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two, as the birth-day of our illuſtrious Chief; and the pariſh of his own name in Weſtmoreland county, in Virginia, boaſts itſelf the place of his nativity. But to ſouls like his, local reſtrictions are not attached. Where Liberty was, there would be his country. Happy for us, the Genius of Liberty, reſponſive to his affections, reſolved that where WASHINGTON was, there alſo ſhould be her abode.

Educated by private inſtruction, his virtue grew with his knowledge, and the uſeful branches of literature occupied the whole powers of his mind. Exemplary for ſolidity of thought and chaſtity of morals, he was honoured by the government of Virginia with an important miſſion, at an age when the levities of the human character ſeldom yield to the earlieſt operation of reaſon.

At the opening of the great war of encroachments upon our weſtern frontiers, he was the bearer of the remonſtrance to the French. Such was the addreſs, fidelity and perſeverance with which he executed this important truſt, that he was honoured at twenty-two years of age with the command of a regiment raiſed by his province. His military talents were ſoon called to the teſt. At Redſtone, Victory perched upon his ſtandard; but, with that volatility by which ſhe tries the powers of her favourite heroes, ſhe in a few months afterwards left him, by his own exertions to ſave the honours of war for his little band, in an unequal, but well ſupported battle. In Braddock's ſlaughtered army, he was a witneſs to ſcenes of horror, which his caution, had it been adopted, would have prevented, and which his ſteady courage aſſiſted much to retrieve. During the remainder of this war, he was employed in fortifying his native province, in arranging and perfecting its militia, and in checking the incurſions of the

enemy, until the criſis of the conteſt had paſſed in this country, when he reſigned his command.

Retirement to him was only a different mode of action; and his repoſe partook not of indolence. Amidſt the honourable purſuits of agriculture, he diſcharged various civil offices, until we find him riſing amongſt the patriots of our country, as a delegate from Virginia, in the firſt American Congreſs.

We ſhall ever remember the fifteenth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, when Providence directed to his appointment as the Commander in Chief of our revolutionary army. In this neighbourhood he firſt drew his ſword. Many of you, my fellow-townſmen, were then languiſhing under the fetters of tyranny, or were impriſoned within the joyleſs confines of your own habitations. Your hope was fixed on him. His command, independent of the reſources of his own mind, afforded no ground for the ſupport of your feelings. He had an army brave indeed, but with little diſcipline; naked at the approach of winter, and almoſt ſubject to diſſolution from temporary enliſtments; a pay-maſter without money; a commiſſary ſtruggling on the utmoſt ſtretch of credit. A veteran army lay under his eye, ſtrongly fortified, regularly paid, warmly clothed, and boaſting its ſuperiority to militia. Yet did his victorious ſword relieve you, and ſave your city. Juſtly have you aſcribed "your reinſtatement to his wiſe arrangements, which compelled your invaders to adopt a leſs deſtructive policy than that which on other occaſions they ſo wantonly practiſed." Could our gratitude forget it, the heights around us bear the triumphant evidence of his conqueſt.

To trace this protector of our liberties through his unrivalled career, from his gloomy retreat through the Jerſies to his ſeveral victories and his ſplendid triumph at Yorktown, would be to narrate the varying hiſtory of our revolution. To him, public labour was amuſement; ſuffering in the cauſe of freedom was a luxury;

and every hour, as it flew, carried an offering to his country.

As obedience to the voice of his oppreſſed fellow-citizens drew his ſword on the approach of war, ſo at the declaration of peace, by the ſame reſpected voice he reſtored it to its ſcabbard. He left them his bleſſing and their liberties. O Human Nature, how haſt thou been traduced! With thee, has it been ſaid, is eſſentially connected that luſt of power which is inſatiable; which reſtores not voluntarily what has been committed to its charge; which devours all rights, and reſolves all laws into its own authority; which labours not for others, but ſeizes the fruits of their labours for itſelf; which breaks down all barriers of religion, ſociety and nature, that obſtruct its courſe! Now art thou vindicated! Here we behold thee allied to virtue, worn in the ſervice of mankind, ſuperior to the meanneſs of compenſation, humbly hoping for the thanks of thy country alone, faithfully ſurrendering the ſword with which thou waſt intruſted, and yielding up power with a promptneſs and facility equalled only by the diffidence and reluctance with which thou receivedſt it.

Now, will the future inquirer ſay, this Hero has finiſhed the taſk aſſigned him; the meaſure of his glory is full. A world is admitted to freedom—a nation is born. Favoured beyond the leader of Iſrael, not only with the proſpect, but with the fruition of the promiſed bleſſing, he has retired, like that prince of meekneſs, to the *Mount*, whence he is to aſcend, unſeen by a weeping people, to the reward of all his labours. No; he is to live another life upon this globe; he is to reap a double harveſt in the field of perennial honour. The people he has ſaved from external tyranny, ſuffer from the agitations of their own unſettled powers. The tree of liberty, which he has planted and ſo carefully guarded from the ſtorms, now flouriſhes beyond its ſtrength: its lofty excreſcences threaten to tear its leſs extended roots from the earth, and to proſtrate it fruitleſs on the plain. But, he comes! In

Convention he preſides over councils, as in war he had led the battle. The Conſtitution, like the rainbow after the flood, appears to us, now juſt emerging from an overwhelming commotion; and we know the truth of the pledge from the ſanction of his name.

The production was worthy of its authors, and of the magnanimous people whom it was intended to eſtabliſh. You adopt it, you cheriſh it, and you reſolve to tranſmit it, with the name of WASHINGTON, to the lateſt generation, who ſhall prove their juſt claim to ſuch an illuſtrious deſcent.

Who was ſo worthy as our great Legiſlator, to direct the operations of a government which his counſels and his ſword had laboured to erect? By a unanimous ſuffrage he was invited to the exalted ſtation of Preſident of the United States. The call was too ſacred to admit of doubt: it ſuperſeded the happineſs of retirement, the demands of private intereſt, the ſweet attractions of domeſtic ſociety, and the hazard (forgive it, WASHINGTON! for thou waſt mortal) the hazard of public reputation. Behold the man on this occaſion, ſo mighty in the eye of all the world, ſo humble in his own! He accepts the high appointment with ſuch diſtruſt of his natural endowments, with ſuch diffidence in his capacity, as can be relieved only by his reliance on that ALMIGHTY BEING, "who rules over the univerſe, who preſides in the councils of nations, and whoſe providential aids can ſupply every human defect."

One of the earlieſt acts of his adminiſtration was that circular viſit to transfuſe his love, and receive the grateful benedictions of his loving countrymen, in which you, my fellow-townſmen, partook ſo liberal a ſhare. What ſenſations ruſhed upon your minds, when you compared the dreadful aſpect of your beſieged city with its now ſmiling condition! The well cultivated fields were ſcreening from view the late terrific ramparts of the enemy, and the groans of the diſtreſſed had yielded to the buſy noiſe of commerce and pleaſure. How grateful now is the recollection, that with

tears of joy you crowded to meet him in your ſtreets, diſplaying the very inſignia which you this day bear in mournful proceſſion; and your children, bowing their heads with eager ſolicitude to attract his fatherly eye, received his pious bleſſing!

Did the occaſion admit of it, how pleaſing would be the review of his adminiſtration, as our Supreme Executive Magiſtrate! His talents and his virtues increaſed with his cares. His ſoul ſeemed not to bear the limits of office a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotiſm withdrew their reſtraints from his univerſal love. When the miſguided ſavages of the wilderneſs, after feeling his chaſtiſement, had ſued for peace, he ſeemed to labour for their happineſs as the common repreſentative of mankind. Inſurrection was ſo ſtruck at his countenance, that it fled from the ſhock of his arm. Intrigue attempted to entangle him in her poiſonous web; but he burſt it with gigantic ſtrength, and cruſhed her labours. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was daſhed into oblivion, as we truſt, forever. The nations of Europe ſaw the wiſdom of our laws, the vigour of our meaſures, the juſtice of our policy, the firmneſs of our government, and acquieſced in the neutrality of our ſtation.

The dangers of the Commonwealth having ſubſided at the cloſe of his ſecond adminiſtration, he felt himſelf juſtified, after dedicating forty-five years of his valuable life to her ſervice, in withdrawing to receive with reſignation the great change of nature, which his age and his toils demonſtrated to be near. When he declined your future ſuffrages, he left you a legacy. What! like Ceſar's to the Romans, money for your ſports? Like Attalus's, a kingdom for your tyranny? No; he left you not ſuch baubles, nor for ſuch purpoſes. He left you the records of wiſdom for your government; a mirror for the faithful repreſentation to your own view, of yourſelves, your weakneſſes, your advantages, your dangers: a magnet which points to the ſecret mines and windings of party ſpirit, faction,

foreign influence: a pillar to the unity of your republic: a band to incloſe, conciliate and ſtrengthen the whole of your wonderful and almoſt boundleſs communities. Read, preſerve the ſacred depoſit; and leſt poſterity ſhould forget the truth of its maxims, engrave them on his tomb, that they may read them when they weep before it.

In his ſecond reſignation of power and the charms of office, the American leader appears ſuperior to ancient or modern examples. Yet another grade was aſſigned to his virtue. Our national rights, ſo well defended at home, were invaded on the ocean. The alarm reaches his retreat; the honour of our republic warms his heart; and he again accepts the ſword for its defence from the hand of another, placed by the voice of the people in that ſupreme magiſtracy, which he alone had heretofore filled. With a leſs dignified ſoul, this official inferiority might have availed to injure his country: but he who could deſcend from the head of a nation to diſcharge the minuteſt duties of a private citizen, was too great to allow the influence of etiquette to endanger the ſafety of the people. His condeſcenſion raiſes him above himſelf; his ſpirit fires all ranks of men; he is overwhelmed with the gratitude and applauſe of an enraptured nation.

Whilſt we confide in his arm, and are marſhalling our warriors to march under his banners, the GOD of armies, whoſe counſels are beyond the ſcrutiny of man, prepares for us the teſt of our ſubmiſſion to his chaſtiſing rod. It is decreed that our WASHINGTON ſhall die, but that his death ſhall be worthy of his life. He is to die by the hand of Virtue. The rapid diſeaſe which is ſelected as the inſtrument of his diſſolution, inſtantaneouſly ſeizes him. His humanity delays the immediate aid to which alone it may yield. Inconſolable domeſtics! what ſtorms would you not have braved, what hazards would you not have encountered, to ſave that life which was ſacrificed to your comfort and ſafety! At length Science flies to ſave him.

Alas! what avails its ſkill againſt the mandate of Heaven? It comes too late!——It is finiſhed.

Wonderful event! Greatneſs departs in glory, and envy is ſilent! All acknowledge him to be the firſt of citizens, and none feel hurt by his ſuperiority. So impartial was he, that none impeach his juſtice; ſo moderate, none complain of his power; ſo magnanimous, his conquered enemies applaud his humanity; ſo philanthropic, that neither colour, nor climate, nor religion, nor politics, could exclude the unfortunate from his ſuccour. He had the habit of combining ſentiment with action in ſuch method and force, that he ſhed his benevolence on communities of men with the ſame eaſe as the ſudden impulſe of momentary ſenſibility beſtows it upon individuals. Unexampled virtue! alloted to its merited reward. Many founders of nations have been left to obtain from poſterity that reputation which prejudice or bigotry has denied at their deaths. The tomb has been neceſſary to bury anger, petty intereſts and emulation, which barred an equitable judgment. But in regard to this ſage, the gratitude of his country has been co-exiſtent with his exertions. Time has not been required to remove him from our view, in order to magnify his exploits through the medium of fame; nor was it requiſite that we ſhould be deprived of the good he had done us, to entertain a juſt ſenſe of its importance. Medals and ſtatues have been decreed him when living, and your tears announce his greater triumph in your hearts, when dead. Diſintereſted love! What motives have you, freemen, for thus offering up your applauſe? He has now no ſhield to defend you from the invaſions of your enemies; his head lies cold in the grave, and no counſel can ariſe from his lips. His eyes were cloſed by his own unſhaken hand; and no ſmile can now beam from his countenance to animate your troops. Grateful Republicans! indeed you weep not from ſelfiſhneſs. Afflicted with the thought of the bleſſings which he has ſhowered upon yourſelves and your chil-

dren, you would call him, could your voice be heard, from the cloſed manſions of the dead, again to receive the tribute of your affection. You weep for her, whoſe tender participation in the anxieties of a huſband relieved his cares, and protracted the invaluable life which love itſelf could no longer detain. Diſconſolate woman! mourn not; for the faithful is gone to receive the reward of his uprightneſs. The whole deſire of his heart, the whole purſuit of his labours, has been the good of his fellow-men. Contraſt him with thoſe who have been raiſed by the empty, the criminal admiration of mankind, to the higheſt ranks in the pantheon of fame. See one, inſtead of liberating and protecting, employed in conquering and enſlaving a world, and weeping that his guilty taſk could be continued no longer. Another retiring from the purple, not with the united bleſſings of all religious ſects, but the bigoted perſecutor of the only rational and divine religion. See the maſter of ſo many crowns, after yielding them up for a convent, inſtead of intereſting himſelf in the welfare of mankind to the hour of his departure, relapſing into the abſurdities of monkiſh ſuperſtition: and another, whoſe aſhes are ſcarcely cold, ſlaughtering the armies of half the nations of Europe, to extend the limits of an electorate, with as much zeal as our departed hero laboured to extend the limits of freedom, civilization and morals. When ſo much worth ſteps off from the ſtage of life, the weakneſs of our nature is the only apology for our tears. Such an exit is not death; it is the triumph of the juſt.

Sons of Freedom! as you regard the memory of your aſcended Chief, attend to the injunctions of his will. Remember that it was not for you alone he laboured; it was for your poſterity alſo; it was for the human race. For you and for them he was firſt in building the nobleſt political ſyſtem that adorns the world. It is an experiment to aſcertain the nature of man; whether he be capable of freedom, or whether he muſt be led by the reins of tyranny; whether he

be endowed with that moderation and underſtanding which checks the extreme indulgence of his will, and by allowing to others the ſame rational enjoyment with himſelf, forms the liberty of the whole upon the partial reſtraint of each individual ; or whether he muſt go on attempting to follow the dictates of ſelfiſhneſs, and find his only reſtraint in a power which will eſtabliſh itſelf independent of his conſent, and make him its ſlave. Who of us can be ſuppoſed to be ſo loſt to himſelf, ſo forgetful of his children, and ſo traitorous to the world, as to contemplate the overthrow of this magnificent temple of wiſdom ? No, my fellow-townſmen ; whatever zeal may ſuddenly ſuggeſt, or apprehenſions tempt us to ſuſpect, there lives not a man among us ſo depraved, ſo curſed by Heaven. Shall it be ſaid, that the works of his hands whom we this day almoſt adore, that the hope which he held out to the nations of the earth, ſhall be fruſtrated by our diviſions ? To the honour of our country, not a man but anſwers, No. All, when rightly informed, wave their particular prejudices, in ſupport of the great pillar of our national union. It is our pride ; it was erected by our fathers ; it is the ſtandard of our defence. Let us then, with a view of forever maintaining it, baniſh all animoſity, melt down all parties, wipe away all diſtinctions. Let us no longer deſignate men who have differed in ſentiment, by odious epithets, mutually reflected and mutually diſavowed : but if a common name be wanted, let it be formed from his whom we now ſeek to honour, and let it be uſed to denote good will to one another, reſpect to our Conſtitution, fortitude to our enemies, love to our country, devotion to our GOD.

In the condolence of this day, we cannot fail to notice the honour which we feel by the preſence of the Fathers of the State. It was not unbecoming the dignity of office, on ſuch an occaſion, to ſuſpend its occupations, and join the general ſorrow. To devote this portion of time to his memory, who devoted a long life to our happineſs, is rational and juſt. Within the

preſent political year, you, honourable Magiſtrates and Legiſlators, in this place ſolemnized the obſequies of the late excellent Governor of our Commonwealth, the much reſpected SUMNER. Thus paſs away the wiſe, the virtuous and the faithful; by an irrevocable decree, leſs unwelcome to them, as it reſpects themſelves, than grievous to us. Their lives are long enough for their own glory, but, alas! ſtill too neceſſary to their country's welfare. The experience, the learning, the genius, the various coincidence of circumſtances, which are neceſſary to form that effulgence of character, by which they enlighten, civilize and direct ſociety, fall to the lot of few. When ſuch lamps are extinguiſhed, we are happy if our darkneſs be tranſient. But in your wiſdom the people of our Commonwealth ſafely confide: nor as members of our united country, do they mourn like thoſe who are without hope; for although in the preſent gloom of our political hemiſphere, their late ruling planet has travelled to the morning of another clime, yet its kindred luminary riſes on the horizon, brilliant, ſteady, and propitious to direct their courſe. They lament that their beloved WASHINGTON ſleeps in death: their conſolation is, that his faithful Brother, the vigilant ADAMS, ſurvives.

An Eulogy

ON THE LATE GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *PORTSMOUTH*, New-Hampſhire, on Tueſday, *December* 31, 1799,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS.

BY JONATHAN MITCHEL SEWALL, ESQ.

MEN, BRETHREN, AND FATHERS!

WOULD to GOD, (if I may ſo ſpeak, without ſeeming to blame the ſovereign will and wiſdom) would to GOD, I had not ſo melancholy an occaſion as the preſent, to addreſs my mourning fellow-citizens on their late irreparable loſs! But that Being "who doth his will in the armies of heaven above, and among the inhabitants of earth beneath," in his holy, though inſcrutable providence, by this late moſt afflicting diſpenſation, hath pointed out the melancholy duty.

Yes; WASHINGTON, the great and good; the deliverer of his country; the defender of her rights; the avenger of her wrongs; and the glorious aſſerter of her freedom, ſovereignty and independence—WASHINGTON, your friend, your father, is no more!

At this mournful event, every boſom heaves the heart-felt ſigh; every eye pours forth the filial tear; and United America groans through all her numerous States!

It has been a laudable cuſtom in moſt nations and ages of the world, when ſome public benefactor, ſome great and illuſtrious perſonage has cloſed this mortal ſcene, by public eulogy to embalm his memory, commemorate and record his virtues. It is a tribute which

the ingenuous and feeling heart delights to pay; a debt of gratitude, which even the baſeſt minds can ſcarcely withhold. Such ſhining examples, held forth to public view, have a far greater effect on the minds of men, than all the precepts of dry philoſophy, or the pedantry and dull dogmas of the ſchools. While they enlighten they warm the heart, and, by their living energy, ſtimulate to great and godlike actions.

And have not we, my audience, the higheſt cauſe to mourn the loſs, to celebrate the virtues, and eulogize the actions of our great and illuſtrious benefactor and father? What ample ſcope does the theme afford for all the powers of eloquence—all the ſenſibilities of gratitude and affection!

What ancient or modern patriot, ſage or hero, can in all reſpects be compared to our beloved WASHINGTON? Equal wiſdom, (perhaps) political knowledge, acute diſcernment, deep penetration, amiable goodneſs, diſintereſted patriotiſm, undaunted heroiſm, invincible fortitude, or incorruptible integrity, taken ſeparately, may have been poſſeſſed by others: But where do we find, in *one* character, an aſſemblage of them all, concentered and combined, like the ſolar rays, into one focus, or the ſplendid galaxy in a ſerene ſky, but in our immortal WASHINGTON?

But that I may not incur the cenſure of being too general or declamatory, I will attempt to give a few brief ſketches of the life of this venerable patriot and hero, previous, as well as poſterior, to the American revolution; interſperſed with ſuch remarks as occur to my mind in the courſe of my progreſs. To detail half the particulars worthy to be had in perpetual remembrance, would exceed the limits of the preſent opportunity; to delineate, with exactneſs in the portrait, each feature of the admirable original, is far beyond the powers of my pencil; and to unfold and diſplay all the excellencies in this wonderful character, would require the life of a patriarch, the pen of a prophet,

and the tongue of an angel: or, in the language of the father of verſe,

> "To count them all, demands a thouſand tongues,
> A throat of braſs, and adamantine lungs."

The illuſtrious GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on the 11th (by the alteration of the ſtile, now the 22d) of February, 1732, at the pariſh of Waſhington, in Weſtmoreland county in Virginia. His anceſtors, for many preceding generations, were alſo natives of that State.

Such was his martial ardour, that at the age of fifteen years he was entered as midſhipman on board a Britiſh man of war, then ſtationed at Virginia: but the entreaties of a fond mother induced him to retract his purpoſe.

He was appointed to a military command before he attained his twentieth year. In 1753, when he was little more than twenty-one years of age, reports having been made of encroachments by the French from Canada, on the Britiſh colonial territory, he was ſent with full powers to aſcertain the facts, treat with the Indians, and warn the French to deſiſt from their aggreſſions. This miſſion he performed in the moſt perfect manner. His journals and report, which were publiſhed, announced to the world that correctneſs of mind, manlineſs in ſtyle, and accuracy of mode in doing buſineſs, which have ſince characterized him in the conduct of more arduous affairs.

His whole conduct, until peace was reſtored to the middle colonies, (during which period he ſuſtained the rank of Colonel) particularly at the time of Braddock's defeat, gained him the approbation of Great-Britain, and the applauſe of his country.

In 1759, an inveterate pulmonary complaint compelled him to reſign his commiſſion.

His health being gradually re-eſtabliſhed, he married the preſent amiable LADY WASHINGTON, and ſettled as a planter and farmer, on his eſtate at Mount Vernon, being his paternal inheritance.

After he left the army, until 1775, he cultivated the arts of peace. He was conſtantly a member of Aſſembly, a magiſtrate of the peace, and a judge of the Court.

He was elected a delegate of the firſt Congreſs in 1774, as well as to that of the ſucceeding year.

This eventful period, this memorable epoch in the hiſtory of mankind, ſeemed deſtined by Heaven for the full diſplay of thoſe talents and virtues, which have ſince excited the admiration of the wiſe and good, and aſtoniſhed the world.

When our country, impelled by the extravagant claims and imperious conduct of Great-Britain, was neceſſitated to reſort to arms in her defence, the people, by their delegates in Congreſs, unanimouſly elected this illuſtrious man to the ſupreme command of the armies of United America. The modeſt diffidence he expreſſed, on his acceptance of this high and important truſt, can only be equalled by the unrivalled heroiſm and perſevering fortitude with which it was executed. Many volumes muſt be read, to form an adequate idea of the almoſt inſuperable difficulties and perils he had to encounter in the arduous ſtruggle. To form, to train and diſcipline a raw and inexperienced army, without any or very ſlender reſources, and enable them to withſtand, much more, ſucceſsfully to contend with, the moſt formidable power on earth, ſeemed to require more than the labours of a Hercules, the patience of a martyr, or the wiſdom of an angel. To what ſtraits, what difficulties, what diſcouragements, was he not ſometimes reduced! How often did he appear almoſt wholly deſerted, by Congreſs and the States, from neceſſity; by his army, from various cauſes! With often but a handful, as it were, of men, oppoſed to a numerous army of veteran troops, did he, with the moſt conſummate prudence, ſkill and addreſs, preſerve that handful, and extricate himſelf from all his embarraſſments. Nay, in the greateſt exigencies, the moſt deſperate ſituations, his fortitude increaſed, his

enterprising genius and unconquerable spirit seemed to acquire fresh vigour. Princeton and Trenton will remain eternal monuments of this truth!

At those gloomy times, when the confidence and hopes of our firmest and most undaunted patriots almost wholly forsook them, HIS, like the pillars of heaven, remained firm and unshaken.

What a variety, what a weight of cares, during an eight years war, lay heavy on him!

Did he not waste the midnight lamp, that we might enjoy repose? Yes; countless nights, while a whole continent has been sunk in the balmy embraces of sleep, like the watchful guardian of Israel, HIS eyes have neither slumbered nor slept: but the morning sun has risen on his nocturnal labours for our safety. His *pen*, like his *sword*, was continually devoted to the service of his country; and the immense and voluminous labours of the former, though well known to be the productions of his single pen, the fact will, I fear, be considered by posterity as incredible fiction. But,

> To recount all the plans by his wisdom contriv'd,
> Or the deeds by his conduct and valour achiev'd,
> Were to number the gems that heaven's concave adorn,
> The sands on the shore, or the dew-drops of morn.

At length, the long wished-for period of his military labours arrived. In 1783, peace was concluded between the two contending nations. But did HE, like other great conquerors, demand large compensations, immense emoluments, for his invaluable services? No; he adhered to his original, declared purpose; he refused even the smallest. Or did he, like Cesar, after vanquishing his country's foes, turn his conquering arms against that country? Far, far otherwise. Before the great Council of our nation the patriot hero appeared, and, in the presence of numerous admiring spectators, resigned his victorious sword into the hands of those who gave it.

August spectacle! glorious example! For my own part, I never contemplate it, but each fibre vibrates

with rapture, and the vital current trembles through every artery of my frame!

With the benedictions of a grateful country, he retired to private life.

When it was found indiſpenſably neceſſary to call a Convention for the purpoſe of framing a *new* Conſtitution of the general government, from the utter inſufficiency of the *old* for national purpoſes, this great man once more ſtepped forth into public life. He was unanimouſly elected Preſident, being a delegate of that Convention which framed our preſent happy Conſtitution; and on its ratification by the States, was unanimouſly and repeatedly elected Preſident of the United States.

During an adminiſtration of eight years, he evinced himſelf to be as great in the cabinet, as he had before proved himſelf to be in the field. The accompliſhed ſtateſman, and the unconquerable warrior, ſhone with equal luſtre.

By the terror of his name, he ſuppreſſed a moſt daring inſurrection. He defeated the vile arts of Genet by his wiſdom, and cauſed him to be recalled. He detected and defeated, by his vigilance, a traitorous conſpiracy, and removed the traitor. By his conſummate wiſdom and prudence, he preſerved our neutrality with the European powers, and prevented a ſecond war with Great-Britain. By his inflexible firmneſs, he maintained the balance of the conſtitutional powers of government, and repelled with dignity an encroachment attempted by the legiſlative on the executive department.

His various ſpeeches to Congreſs, like all his other writings, are replete with the moſt profound political knowledge and uſeful inſtruction. They may be read with perpetual improvement and delight. They are a perfect model of fine writing, an honour to our country, and an ornament to the Engliſh language.

His addreſs to the people of America, on his retiring from the cares of government, is one of the moſt

invaluable legacies ever left to a people. It has been celebrated in Europe, and compared to that bequeathed by Moſes to the nation of Iſrael. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Here we might have ſuppoſed his career of glory was ended; that his meaſure of fame was filled to the brim. But Heaven thought otherwiſe. The aggreſſions of France rouſed our national government to provide for our defence. An army, as well as navy, was indiſpenſable; and the Preſident, with the unanimous concurrence of the Senate, appointed this venerable hero, once more, to the ſupreme command of the armies of America.

This appointment was the general wiſh and expectation. The acceptance only was doubted. Hopes and fears alternately poſſeſſed every boſom. Our fears were at length diſpelled, and univerſal joy ſucceeded, and thrilled in every heart. What a ſpectacle! A venerable hero, in the zenith of glory; in full poſſeſſion of more fame than the proudeſt ambition ever attained, or even aſpired after; all the honours that his country, mankind, or poſterity, had to beſtow; again embarking in the tempeſtuous ocean of public life, to riſque the doubtful chance of war, and, at an advanced period of life, put to hazard that fame and thoſe honours he had ſpent a whole life in acquiring. This was greatneſs; this was patriotiſm indeed! And Heaven indulged its favourite to add this laſt wreath to his earthly crown, before he put on the brighter diadem of immortal glory.

The private virtues of this great man exactly correſponded with thoſe exhibited in public life.

His manſion was the ſeat of hoſpitality. He was idolized by his domeſtics; by his neighbours and friends, eſteemed and venerated: and it is worthy of remark, that all who beſt knew him, particularly thoſe who were more immediately attached to his perſon in the courſe of the war, and during his civil adminiſtration, are among his warmeſt admirers and panegyriſts.

There was a gravity and reſerve, indeed, in his countenance and deportment, partly natural, and partly the effect of habitual cares for the public weal: but theſe were wholly unmixed with the leaſt auſterity or moroſeneſs.

True native dignity was happily blended with the moſt placid mildneſs and condeſcenſion. He was a pattern of moderation, meekneſs, and ſelf-poſſeſſion. No perſon ever exiſted, that had all his paſſions under more complete control.

> To him mild candour, ſenſe and worth were given,
> "And every other virtue under heaven."

To crown all theſe moral virtues, he had the deepeſt ſenſe of religion impreſſed on his heart; the true foundation-ſtone of all the moral virtues. This he conſtantly manifeſted on all proper occaſions. He was a firm believer in the Chriſtian religion; and, at his firſt entrance on his civil adminiſtration, he made it known, and adhered to his purpoſe, that no ſecular buſineſs could be tranſacted with him on the day ſet apart by Chriſtians for the worſhip of the Deity.

Though he was, from principle, a member of the Epiſcopal church, he was candid and liberal in the higheſt degree, not only to all ſects and denominations of Chriſtians, but to all religions, where the profeſſors were ſincere, throughout the world.

He conſtantly attended the public worſhip of GOD on the LORD'S day, was a communicant at HIS table, and, by his devout and ſolemn deportment, inſpired every beholder with ſome portion of that awe and reverence for the Supreme Being, of which he felt ſo large a portion.

For my own part, I truſt I ſhall never loſe the impreſſion made on my own mind, in beholding, in this houſe of prayer, the venerable hero, the victorious leader of our hoſts, bending in humble adoration to the GOD of armies, and great Captain of our ſalvation! Hard and unfeeling indeed muſt that heart be,

that could ſuſtain the ſight unmoved, or its owner depart unſoftened and unedified.

Let the deiſt reflect on this, and remember that WASHINGTON, the ſaviour of his country, did not diſdain to acknowledge and adore a greater Saviour, whom deiſts and infidels affect to ſlight and deſpiſe.

Thus have I attempted, with trembling hand and overburthened heart, to exhibit a few brief ſketches of the life, and to delineate a faint portrait of the character, of this unrivalled hero, ſage, and Chriſtian. None will think the picture overſtrained, or charge me with flattering the dead. Alas! the admirable original is far removed above all earthly praiſe or cenſure. And tell me, my audience, have you ever heard or read of any character, ancient or modern, in all reſpects comparable to this wonderful man's, whoſe loſs has filled a world with tears? I could almoſt venture to pronounce, that all antiquity cannot boaſt a parallel; unleſs, perhaps, the great legiſlator of the Jewiſh nation may be deemed an exception.

In contemplating the lives and characters of theſe two eminent ſervants of the Moſt High, I think I can trace no inconſiderable reſemblance between them. Will you indulge me, while I attempt a parallel between the leader of the armies of Iſrael, and the leader of the armies of America?

Did the former appear deſtined by Heaven to make a nation great, independent and happy? So did the latter. Did the former give early preſages of this, in defending his countrymen againſt lawleſs violence and oppreſſion? We have ſeen that the latter did the ſame. Was the former an invincible hero, a wiſe legiſlator, an able ſtateſman, and an upright judge? All theſe characters as truly belonged to the latter. Did the leader of the hoſts of Iſrael deliver that nation from Egyptian bondage? So did WASHINGTON ours, from the galling yoke of Britiſh tyranny. Was the former an early and ſhining example of piety and all the moral virtues? So was the latter. Did the former blend

uncommon meekneſs with undaunted bravery and the moſt perſevering fortitude? Our leader and guide, in the moſt eminent degree, did the ſame.

Was the meek prophet of Iſrael but once provoked to *act* with raſhneſs at Sinai's baſe, and once to *ſpeak* unadviſedly at the rock of Oreb? Our patient hero did only the latter once on the plains of Monmouth. Was the former often raſhly cenſured by ſome of his perverſe countrymen? How far the parallel holds juſt here, let others determine. Was the former found faithful in all things? Equally ſo was the latter. After reſcuing a nation from ſlavery, did the former lead them to the very borders of the promiſed land? WASHINGTON did more; he put us into the full poſſeſſion of the heritage of our fathers. Did the former demand or receive no compenſation for his invaluable ſervices? So neither did the diſintereſted patriot of America. At the cloſe of his days, was the Hebrew leader unimpaired and vigorous in all his faculties? Our benefactor and father was equally ſo, except that his corporeal optics were dimmed by inceſſant labours and nocturnal vigils, while his mental viſion, as if purged with "euphraſy and rue," was ſtrengthened and refined.

In one inſtance the parallel ſeems to fail. The former was bleſſed with offspring. Thoſe tender pledges of connubial bliſs were indeed denied to the latter; yet weeping millions in him have loſt a father; while he has obtained "a name far better than that of ſons and of daughters."

Finally, did that eminent leader of the choſen ſeed, having finiſhed his courſe with joy, die honoured by GOD, beloved of man, and univerſally lamented? So has the leader whoſe loſs we are called upon this day with heart-felt anguiſh to deplore.

How ſudden, how unexpected was the fatal ſtroke! With ſwifteſt ſpeed the deadly arrow flew, ere his grateful country could breathe one pious vow to Heaven for his preſervation! Otherwiſe than ſudden

it could not have been, if vows can change the purpoſes of the Almighty. Had the dreadful tidings of thy danger, O beloved of Heaven! but timely reached our ears, the fervent, united prayers of a whole empire had arreſted the fatal ſhaft, and propitious Heaven ſtill lent thee, to bleſs thy country and mankind!

But though ſudden and unexpected to *us*, death could never to *him* be premature; and the excruciating pangs he ſuſtained with ſuch manly and heroic (though accuſtomed) fortitude, during his ſhort illneſs, forbid a wiſh that his life ſhould have been protracted with thoſe pangs for a moment.

Methinks, O inhabitant of brighter worlds! I behold thy ſublime ſpirit releaſed from its corporeal ſhackles, borne on the wings of ſeraphs to the paradiſe of eternal bliſs; there to receive a joyful foretaſte of that immenſely glorious reward that awaits it at the reſurrection of the juſt.

Hail then, illuſtrious ſhade! immortal ſpirit, hail! Whether man or angel, the difference is not great! And thou precious duſt, reſt thou in hope, for thou too ſhalt ſhortly hear the voice of the SON of GOD and live! Thou ſhalt come forth from thy ſleeping manſion, not that frail, mortal body, ſo often worn with fatigue in the ſervice of thy country; but a bright, celeſtial form, fit habitation for thy immortal ſpirit, and "faſhioned like unto the glorious body of the SON of GOD," to be once more united in bonds indiſſoluble; to walk with angels, "high in ſalvation and the climes of bliſs;" there to ſhine forever with diſtinguiſhed and pre-eminent ſplendour among the bleſſed, even though "the righteous ſhall ſhine like the ſun in the kingdom of their Father."

The ſacred hiſtorian informs us, that the whole nation of Iſrael wept for Moſes thirty days. Many of thoſe who had reviled him in his life time, probably wept with increaſing bitterneſs at his death. And can we reſtrain the grateful tear for the loſs our country

and the world have ſuſtained? a loſs which ages cannot repair? Shall we not cheriſh the memory of this excellent man, our benefactor, guide, and father! not thirty days only, but till the laſt pulſe of life ſhall ceaſe to throb; and teach our children, and they theirs, to liſp his venerable name, to read his martial exploits, and reverence and copy his godlike virtues? That the name of WASHINGTON may be remembered with new and ever-increaſing honours, to the lateſt poſterity!

Shall not the fair daughters of America too, whoſe ſofter boſoms and more ſuſceptible hearts are better attuned to tender ſympathy than ours; ſhall they not join in the general grief? The daughters of Iſrael were called upon, by the royal bard and eulogiſt of their departed king, to "weep over Saul." And have not you, my fair audience, infinitely greater cauſe to lament the loſs of this more than king? The former indeed had his virtues, but they were clouded and eclipſed by his vices. But the virtues of the latter, like pureſt gold, were unalloyed, and of a nobler kind. "Saul," we are told, "clothed them in ſcarlet, with other (gaudy) delights." But WASHINGTON adorned you in the robe of freedom! and to ſhield your defenceleſs innocence from lawleſs rage and brutal violence, "he was ſwifter than an eagle, he was ſtronger than a lion!" Let heaven-born gratitude, then, fill every gentler boſom; and O! embalm his ſacred memory with your ſofteſt tears!

Next to the beloved partner of his boſom, (in whoſe deep affliction a world will participate!) all ranks, orders and degrees, are deeply intereſted in this diſtreſſing calamity—from the ſublime perſonage who now ſo ably guides the helm of ſtate, to the humbleſt labourer that toils, or the ſtill humbler mendicant that aſks for his daily bread. As is the cauſe, ſo let the ſighs of wo be univerſal through the land. But, alas! to recal him back to earth, our loudeſt cries of wo are unavailing; and fully to diſplay his matchleſs worth, inadequate our higheſt praiſes!

Yet the ſpontaneous effuſions of genuine ſorrow will relieve our overburthened hearts, ſoften and better them; and the tribute of praiſe and gratitude is, alas! all we have to beſtow! To evince the ſincerity of theſe, the moſt effectual way is to attend to his admonitions, to obey all his counſels. They are to be found in that excellent addreſs, that precious legacy, before mentioned. Let this be our oracle; let us read and ſtudy it day and night. In the language of inſpiration, "Let us bind it about our necks, and engrave it on the tablet of our hearts."

In this invaluable gift, among a variety of other excellent precepts, ſuffer me to remind you of a few.

He moſt affectionately cautions his countrymen againſt all immoderate attachments to ſome, and violent antipathies againſt other nations. He recommends harmony and liberal intercourſe with all, at the ſame time that he deprecates too cloſe a connexion with any. He exhorts to obedience and ſubmiſſion to government, and a generous confidence in our rulers, whom we ourſelves have choſen; while he warns againſt all combinations, whether open or covert, that tend to weaken government, or to leſſen the authority of thoſe who adminiſter it. He inculcates the practice of juſtice, good faith, temperance and economy, with all the moral virtues; and of religion emphatically, as the baſis and foundation of them all. He exhorts us, to the utmoſt of our power, to cultivate peace with every nation on earth; and as the ſureſt means to preſerve it, ſtrongly urges the neceſſity of maintaining the beſt ſtate of defence in our power, both by ſea and land. But, above all, he exhorts to union among ourſelves—between States and among individuals. On this, he aſſures us, our proſperity, nay, our very exiſtence as a nation, depends.

Is the counſel good? Let us follow it. Are theſe admonitions wiſe? We will obey them. Thus ſhall we beſt prove the ſincerity of our gratitude to their author, and fully evidence our veneration for his memory. But if we diſregard and diſobey them,

what are we but hypocrites, or ſelf-deceivers? Obedience will lead us to the higheſt pinnacle of national glory. A contrary conduct will diſhonour, though it cannot injure, our greateſt benefactor, and end in irremediable ruin. "If we are wiſe, we ſhall be wiſe for ourſelves, but if we ſcorn, we alone ſhall bear it."

The preſent general union among all parties, in paying theſe laſt ſolemn honours to the memory of our deceaſed friend and father, is a proof that we can unite in ſome things; O! "'twere a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed," could we but harmonize in all! Then (if departed ſpirits are permitted to hold converſe with earth) with what pleaſing emotions would WASHINGTON behold the ſight?

"This, this, e'en now, above yon ſtarry pole,
Would touch with tranſport his immortal ſoul."

This, my fellow-citizens, is the only effectual way to teſtify the ſincerity of our grief, the fervency of our gratitude, and the profound veneration we feel for the character and memory of this excellent perſon. Nay, by our union we ſhall add to his glory! For it may then be ſaid of the illuſtrious hero of America, as it was of the ſelf-devoted victim at Gaza, the renowned champion of Iſrael, herculean Samſon, that he achieved more for his country at his death, than in all his life before he had been able to accompliſh.

But the theme overpowers me—I ſink beneath it! A thouſand tender, grateful ideas ruſh upon my ſoul! My nerves refuſe their ſupport!

O, WASHINGTON! thy country's boaſt and pride,
In ev'ry ſcene of wo and peril try'd;
Thou ſeeſt (though thron'd above yon ſtarry ſpheres)
An empire bleeding, and a world in tears!
Kindly look down! O, mitigate our woes!
And ſoothe thy weeping country to repoſe!
O, look from Sion's conſecrated hill,
And be Columbia's guardian angel ſtill!
For ſure, if aught below the thrones above
Can touch thy ſpirit, 'tis thy country's love!
Revive thoſe counſels thou didſt here impart,
And grave the heav'nly precepts on each heart.
Inſtruct us where our trueſt intereſt lies,
And lift COLUMBIA'S glory to the ſkies!
Till heav'nly hoſts, with earth's vaſt tribes, agree
Thy precepts made us HAPPY, GREAT and FREE.

An Oration

UPON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON,

Delivered at the Requeſt of the Corporation of the City of NEW-YORK,

On the 31ſt of December, 1799.

BY GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Sed quiſnam merito divinas Carmine Laudes
Concipere, aut tanto par queat eſſe Viro?
AUREL. BRAND.

AMERICANS,

ASSEMBLED to pay the laſt dues of filial piety to him who was the father of his country, it is meet that we take one laſt look at the man whom we have loſt forever.

Born to high deſtinies, he was faſhioned for them by the hand of nature. His form was noble—his port majeſtic. On his front were enthroned the virtues which exalt, and thoſe which adorn the human character. So dignified his deportment, no man could approach him but with reſpect—None was great in his preſence. You all have ſeen him, and you all have felt the reverence he inſpired; it was ſuch, that to command, ſeemed in him but the exerciſe of an ordinary function, while others felt a duty to obey, which (anterior to the injunctions of civil ordinance, or the compulſion of a military code) was impoſed by the high beheſts of nature.

He had *every* title to command—Heaven, in giving him the higher qualities of the ſoul, had given alſo the tumultuous paſſions which accompany greatneſs, and frequently tarniſh its luſtre. With them was his firſt conteſt, and his firſt victory was over himſelf. So

great the empire he had there acquired, that calmneſs of manner and of conduct diſtinguiſhed him through life. Yet, thoſe who have ſeen him ſtrongly moved, will bear witneſs that his wrath was terrible; they have ſeen boiling in his boſom, paſſion almoſt too mighty for man; yet, when juſt burſting into act, that ſtrong paſſion was controlled by his ſtronger mind.

Having thus a perfect command of himſelf, he could rely on the full exertion of his powers, in whatever direction he might order them to act. He was therefore clear, decided, and unembarraſſed by any conſideration of himſelf. Such conſideration did not even dare to intrude on his reflections. Hence it was, that he beheld not only the affairs that were paſſing around him, but thoſe alſo in which he was perſonally engaged, with the coolneſs of an unconcerned ſpectator. They were to him as events hiſtorically recorded. His judgment was always clear, becauſe his mind was pure. And ſeldom, if ever, will a ſound underſtanding be met with in the company of a corrupt heart.

In the ſtrength of judgment lay, indeed, one chief excellence of his character. Leaving to feebler minds that ſplendour of genius, which, while it enlightens others, too often dazzles the poſſeſſor; he knew how beſt to uſe the rays which genius might emit, and carry into act its beſt conceptions.

So modeſt, he wiſhed not to attract attention, but obſerved in ſilence, and ſaw deep into the human heart. Of a thouſand propoſitions he knew to diſtinguiſh the beſt; and to ſelect among a thouſand the man moſt fitted for his purpoſe. If ever he was deceived in his choice, it was by circumſtances of ſocial feeling which did honour to his heart. Should it, therefore, in the review of his conduct, appear that he was merely not infallible, the few errors which fell to his lot, as a man, will claim the affections of his fellow men. Pleaſed with the rare, but graceful weakneſs, they will admire that elevation of ſoul, which, ſuperior to reſentment, gave honour and power, with liberal hand, to thoſe by

whom he had been offended. Not to conciliate a regard, which, if it be venal, is worth no price; but to draw forth in your ſervice the exerciſe of talents, which he could duly eſtimate, in ſpite of incidents by which a weaker mind would have been thrown from its bias.

In him were the courage of a ſoldier, the intrepidity of a chief, the fortitude of a hero. He had given to the impulſions of bravery all the calmneſs of his character, and, if in the moment of danger, his manner was diſtinguiſhable from that of common life, it was by ſuperior eaſe and grace.

To each deſire he had taught the leſſons of moderation. Prudence became therefore the companion of his life. Never in the public, never in the private hour did ſhe abandon him even for a moment. And, if in the ſmall circle, where he might ſafely think aloud, ſhe ſhould have ſlumbered amid convivial joy, his quick ſenſe of what was juſt, and decent, and fit, ſtood ever ready to awaken her at the ſlighteſt alarm.

Knowing how to appreciate the world, its gifts and glories, he was truly wiſe. Wiſe alſo in ſelecting the objects of his purſuit. And wiſe in adopting juſt means to compaſs honourable ends.

Bound by the ſacred ties of wedded love, his high example ſtrengthened the tone of public manners. Beloved, almoſt adored by the amiable partner of his toils and dangers, who ſhared with him the anxieties of public life, and ſweetened the ſhade of retirement, no fruit was granted to their union. No child to catch with pious tenderneſs the falling tear, and ſoothe the anguiſh of connubial affliction. No living image remains to her of his virtues, and ſhe muſt ſeek them ſorrowing in the grave. Who ſhall arraign, O GOD! thy high decree? Was it in diſpleaſure, that to the father of his country thou hadſt denied a ſon? Was it in mercy, leſt the paternal virtues ſhould have triumphed (during ſome frail moment) in the patriot boſom? AMERICANS! he had no child—BUT YOU,—and HE WAS ALL YOUR OWN.

Let envy come forward if ſhe dare, and ſeek ſome darkened ſpot in this ſun of our glory. From the black catalogue of crimes envy herſelf muſt ſpeak him free. Had he (a mortal) the failings attached to man? Was he the ſlave of avarice? No. Wealth was an object too mean for his regard. And yet economy preſided over his domeſtic concerns; for his mind was too lofty to brook dependence. Was he ambitious? No. His ſpirit ſoared beyond ambition's reach. He ſaw a crown high above all human grandeur. He ſought, he gained, and wore *that* crown. But he had indeed one frailty—the weakneſs of great minds. He was fond of fame, and had reared a coloſſal reputation. It ſtood on the rock of his virtue. This was dear to his heart. There was but one thing dearer. He loved glory, but ſtill more he loved his country. That was the maſter paſſion, and, with reſiſtleſs might, it ruled his every thought, and word, and deed.

We ſee him ſtepping, as it were from his cradle, into the fields of glory, and meriting the public confidence, at a period when others too often conſume in idleneſs the moments lent for inſtruction, or (in purſuit of pleaſure) waſte their moral energies. While yet his cheek was covered with the down of youth, he had combined the character of an able negociator with that of a gallant ſoldier. Scarce had he given this early pledge of future ſervice, when he was called on for the quick performance; he accompanies to the weſtern wilds, Braddock, who, bred in camps of European war, deſpiſed the ſavage. But ſoon entrapped in the cloſe ambuſh, military ſkill becomes of no avail. The leaders, ſelected by unerring aim, firſt fall—the troops lie thick in ſlaughtered heaps, the victims of an inviſible foe. WASHINGTON, whoſe warnings had been neglected, ſtill gives the aid of ſalutary counſel to his ill-fated chief, and urges it with all the grace of eloquence, and all the force of conviction. A form ſo manly draws the attention of the ſavage, and is doomed to periſh. The murdering inſtruments are levelled;

the quick bolts fly winged with death, and pierce his garments; but, obedient to the ſovereign will, they dare not ſhed his blood. Braddock falls at his feet; and the youthful hero covers with his brave Virginians, the retreat of Britons, not leſs brave, but ſurpriſed by unuſual war.

Theſe bands of brothers were ſoon to ſtand in hoſtile oppoſition. Such was the decree of HIM to whom are preſent all the revolutions of time and empire. When no hope remained but in the field of blood, WASHINGTON was called on by his country to lead her armies. In modeſt doubt of his own ability, he ſubmitted with reluctance to the neceſſity of becoming her chief; and took on him the weight, the care and the anguiſh of a civil war. *Ambition* would have taſted here the ſweets of power, and drunk deep of intoxicating draughts, but to the *patriot*, theſe ſweets are bitterneſs.

Induſtrious, patient, perſevering, he remained at the head of citizens ſcarcely armed; and, ſparing of blood, by ſkill, rather than by force, compelled his foe to ſeek a more favourable theatre of war. And now all hope of union loſt, America (by her declaration of independence) cut the laſt ſlender thread of connexion.

She had hitherto been ſucceſsful; but was ſoon ſhaken by adverſe ſtorms. The counſel of her Chief had been neglected. His army had been raiſed by annual enliſtment. The poor remnant of accumulated defeat, retreating before an enemy fluſhed with ſucceſs, and confident in all ſuperiority, looked with impatience to the approaching term of ſervice. The proſpect was on all ſides gloomy; and ſunſhine friends (turning their halcyon beaks to fairer ſkies) ſought ſhelter from the ſtorm. But though betrayed by fortune, his calm and ſteady mind remained true to itſelf. Winter had cloſed the campaign. Solacing in the enjoyment of what their arms had acquired, the victors taſted pleaſure unalloyed by the dread of danger. They were ſheltered behind one of the broad barriers of nature,

and, ſafely houſed, beheld upon its farther ſhore, a feeble adverſary, expoſed beneath the canopy of heaven to the rigours of an unpitying ſeaſon. It was hoped that, their term of enliſtment expired, the American troops would diſperſe; and the Chief, in deſpair, throw up his command. Such was the reaſoning, and ſuch reaſoning would, in ordinary caſes, have been concluſive. But that Chief was WASHINGTON! He ſhews to his gallant comrades the danger of their country, and aſks the aid of patriotic ſervice. At his voice their hearts beat high. In vain the raging Delaware, vext with the wintry blaſt, forbids their march. In vain he rolls along his rocky bed, a frozen torrent, whoſe ponderous maſs threatens to ſweep the ſoldier from his uncertain footſtep, and bear him down the flood! In vain the beating ſnow adds to the dangerous ford a darkened horror! Difficulties and dangers animate the brave. His little band is arrived; WASHINGTON is within the walls—the enemy is ſubdued!

Fortune now ſmiles; but who can truſt to that fallacious ſmile? Preparations are already made to puniſh the American Leader for his adventurous hardihood. And now he ſees, ſtretched out before him in wide array, a force ſo great that in the battle there is no hope. Behind him the impaſſable ſtream cuts off retreat. Already from his brazen throat the cannon gives loud ſummons to the field. But the ſetting ſun leaves yet a dreary night to brood over approaching ruin. The earth is ſhrouded in the veil of darkneſs; and now the illuſtrious Chief takes up his ſilent march, and in wide circuit leads his little band around the unwary foe. At the dawn, his military thunders tell them their reſerve poſted far in the rear, is in the pounces of the American Eagle. They haſten back to revenge; but he has already ſecured his advantage, and (by a well choſen poſition) confines them to inglorious repoſe. The armies now reſt from their toil. But for him there is no reſt. His followers claim the double right of returning to their homes, and he ſtands almoſt alone. He

dares not aſk for aid, leſt the enemy, emboldened by the acknowledgment of weakneſs, ſhould diſſipate his ſhadow of an army. Nothing remains but to intimidate by the appearance of a force, which does not exiſt; and hide from his own troops their great inferiority. Both are effected by ſkill rarely equalled—never excelled.

Scarce hath the advancing ſeaſon brought forward a few recruits, when he begins offenſive operations. His enemy, foiled in each attempt to advance, is compelled to aſk from the ocean ſome ſafer road to conqueſt. The propitious deep receives on his broad boſom the invading hoſt, and bids his obedient billows bear them to ſome ſhore, where they may join the advantage of ſurpriſe with thoſe of number, diſcipline, and appointments. The hope is vain! WASHINGTON had penetrated their views, and ſtands before them! He is unfortunate. Defeated, not ſubdued, he leads on again to new attack. The half-gained victory, ſnatched from his graſp, at the head of an inferior, twice-beaten army, he paſſes the long winter in an open field, within one day's march of his foe.

Here he was doomed to new difficulties, and dangers unknown before. Faction had reared (in the American councils) her *accurſed* head, and laboured to remove him from the command. That meaſure would at once have diſbanded his affectionate troops—the country around them was exhauſted. He had no means to clothe or feed his army—none to change their poſition. Many periſhed; each day the numbers were alarmingly diminiſhed, and reinforcement was dangerous, becauſe it might increaſe the famine. Under theſe circumſtances, a new ſyſtem of organization and diſcipline was to be formed, introduced, and enforced, while the ſoldier could ſeldom obtain even his poor pittance of depreciated paper.—

———" Who then hath ſeen
The gallant leader of that ruined band,
Let him cry praiſe and glory on his head."

It was in the ſolitary walk of night—it was in the boſom of friendſhip that he could alone unburthen himſelf, of the vaſt wo which weighed upon his heart—Here was indeed no common nor vulgar care. Honour—Liberty—his Country, ſtood on the dangerous margin of uncertain fate, and no human eye could pierce the dark cloud which hung upon futurity.

From this black night of gloomy apprehenſion, broke forth the ſun of golden, glorious Hope! A mighty monarch had connected his fortunes with thoſe of America. In her defence the flag of France was unfurled, and gratitude hailed the ſixteenth Louis, protector of the rights of mankind. His powerful interference took off from what remained of the war, all reaſonable doubt as to the final event. After a varied ſcene of adverſe and proſperous circumſtances, that event arrived, and a ſolemn treaty acknowledged your independence.

Great was the joy and high the general expectation, for the political ſtate of America was not duly conſidered. Her band of federal union had been woven by the hand of diſtruſt. The different States had been held together, in no ſmall degree, by the external preſſure of war. That preſſure removed, they might fall aſunder. There exiſted various cauſes of diſcontent, which the intrigues of European policy might ripen into diſguſt. Thoſe who ſhared in the public counſels were filled, therefore, with deep apprehenſion. The army, taught by years of painful experience, became a prey to ſiniſter forebodings. Connected by the endearing ties of ſoldierly brotherhood, theſe gallant ſons of freedom anticipated with horror the moment when they might be called on to unſheathe their ſwords againſt each other; and pour, in impious libation, the pureſt of their blood upon the altars of civil war. Some of the more ardent ſpirits, ſmarting from the paſt, and fearing for the future, had formed a wiſh, that the army might be kept together, and, by its appearance, accelerate the adoption of an efficient government. The ſen-

timent was patriotic—the plan of doubtful complexion—the ſucceſs uncertain ; but the proſpect was fair if the CHIEF could be engaged.

He knew their wrongs ! He knew their worth ! He felt their apprehenſions ! They had ſtrong claims upon him, and thoſe claims were ſtrongly urged. Supreme power, with meretricious charms, courted his embrace ; and was clothed, to ſeduce him, in the robes of juſtice. If, therefore, ambition had poſſeſſed a ſingle corner of his heart, he might have deliberated. But he was ever loyal. He bid a laſt adieu to the companions of his glory, and laid all his laurels at the feet of his country !

His fame was now complete, and it was permitted him to hope for eaſe in dignified retirement. Vain hope ! The defects of the federal compact are ſoon too deeply felt not to be generally acknowledged. America directs a reviſion by perſons of her choice. He is their Preſident. It is a queſtion, previous to the firſt meeting, what courſe ſhall be purſued. Men of decided temper, who, devoted to the public, overlooked prudential conſiderations, thought a form of government ſhould be framed entirely new. But cautious men, with whom popularity was an object, deemed it fit to conſult and comply with the wiſhes of the people. AMERICANS ! let the opinion then delivered by the greateſt and beſt of men, be ever preſent to your remembrance. He was collected within himſelf. His countenance had more than uſual ſolemnity ; his eye was fixed, and ſeemed to look into futurity. "It is (ſaid he) too probable that no plan we propoſe will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be ſuſtained. If to pleaſe the people, we offer what we ourſelves diſapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work ? Let us raiſe a ſtandard to which the wiſe and the honeſt can repair. The event is in the hand of God." This was the patriot voice of WASHINGTON ; and this the conſtant tenor of his conduct. With this deep ſenſe of duty, he gave to our Conſtitution his cordial aſſent ; and has added the fame of a legiſlator to that of a hero.

Again, in the ſhade of retirement, he ſeeks repoſe; but is called, by unanimous voice, to be the firſt magiſtrate of the United States. Scarce are the wheels of government in motion, when he is ſtruck by the view of that enormous revolution which ſtill torments and terrifies the earth. The flames of war were ſpread throughout Europe, and threatened to waſte the globe. The delegated incendiaries found America filled with inflammable matter. All the bad paſſions, with ſome that were good, ſtimulated her to engage in the conteſt. But the Preſident, ſtill calm, diſcerning, and true to your trueſt intereſt, proclaimed, obſerved, and maintained an exact neutrality. In vain was he aſſailed from abroad; in vain ſolicited, excited, urged, by thoſe around him. He ſtood immoveable! Vain alſo were the clamours of miſtaken zeal, the dark efforts of inſidious faction, and the foul voice of mercenary ſlander. You have all lately ſeen his firm adminiſtration, and all now enjoy the rich reſult of his inflexible wiſdom.

Though he ſtill turned with fond deſire towards his domeſtic ſhade, he never left the helm during the fury of the ſtorm; but remained till he had the well-founded expectation, that America might enjoy PEACE, FREEDOM, and SAFETY; and then at laſt he claims the right of age. A venerable veteran, in all honourable ſervice, having conſecrated to his country the ſpirit of youth, the ſtrength of manhood, and the ripe experience of laborious years, he aſks repoſe. His body, broken with toil, muſt reſt——No. He is called forth again; again muſt he gird on his ſword, and prepare for the battle! And ſee! freſh in renewed vigour, he decks his hoary head with nodding plumes of war, and mounts the barbed ſteed. With countenance erect and firm, his eagle eye meaſures the lengthened file. Wonderful man! he ſeems immortal-----O no, no, no! this our pride, our glory, is gone; he is gone forever!

But yet his ſpirit liveth. Hail, happy ſhade! The broad ſhield of death is thrown before thy fame. Nev-

er ſhall the polluted breath of ſlander blow upon thine aſhes. We will watch with pious care the laurels which ſhade thy urn, and wear thy name engraven on our hearts. O! yet protect thy country!—Save her! She is an orphan—Her father is mingled with the duſt.

No! HE LIVETH—HE SHALL LIVE FOREVER! And when the lateſt of your children's children ſhall pronounce his dear, his ſacred name, their eyes ſhall be ſuffuſed with the tear of GRATITUDE and LOVE.

An Eulogy

ON THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Written at the Requeſt of the Citizens of *NEWBURYPORT*, and delivered at the firſt Preſbyterian Meeting-Houſe in that Town, JANUARY 2, 1800.

BY THOMAS PAINE, A. M.

" O for a muſe of fire, that would aſcend
The brighteſt heaven of invention !
An empire for a ſtage, heroes to act,
And angels to behold the ſwelling ſcene !
Then ſhould the MIGHTY SHADE again aſſume
His local habitation, and his name,
Mantling our ſphere with his ſupernal glory !
Virtue and Fame ſhould pioneer his way
Through planets wonder-ſtruck ; while at his heels
Valour and Victory (leaſht in like hounds)
Crouch for employment !"

AMERICANS,

THE ſaviour of your country has obtained his laſt victory. Having reached the ſummit of human perfection, he has quitted the region of human glory. CONQUEROR OF TIME, he has triumphed over mortality ; LEGATE OF HEAVEN, he has returned with the tidings of his miſſion ; FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE, he has aſcended to advocate their cauſe in the boſom of his GOD. Solemn, " as it were a pauſe in nature," was his tranſit to eternity ; thronged by the ſhades of heroes, his approach to the confines of bliſs ; pæaned by the ſong of angels, his journey beyond the ſtars !

The voice of a grateful and afflicted people has pronounced the eulogium of their departed hero—" *firſt in war, firſt in peace, firſt in the hearts of his countrymen.*"

That this exalted tribute is juſtly due to his memory, the ſcar-honoured veteran, who has fought under the banners of his glory, the enraptured ſtateſman, who has bowed to the dominion of his eloquence, the hardy cultivator, whoſe ſoil has been defended by the prodigies of his valour, the protected citizen, whoſe peaceful rights have been ſecured by the vigilance of his wiſdom; yea, every fibre, that can vibrate in the heart of an American, will atteſt with agonized ſenſibility.

Born to direct the deſtiny of empires, his character was as majeſtic, as the events, to which it was attached, were illuſtrious. In the delineation of its features, the vivid pencil of genius cannot brighten a trait, nor the blighting breath of calumny obſcure. His principles were the reſult of organic philoſophy; his ſucceſs, of moral juſtice. His integrity aſſumed the port of command; his intelligence, the aſpect of inſpiration. Glory, to *many* impregnable, he obtained without ambition; popularity, to *all* inconſtant, he enjoyed without jealouſy. The one was his from admiration, the other from gratitude. The former embelliſhed, but could not reward; the latter followed, but never could lead him. The robuſt vigour of his virtue, like the undazzled eye of the eagle, was inacceſſible to human weakneſs; and the unaſpiring temperament of his paſſions, like the regenerating aſhes of the phenix, gave new life to the greatneſs it could not extinguiſh. In the imperial dignity of his perſon, was exhibited the auguſt ſtature of his mind:

> "See what a grace was ſeated on his brow,
> An eye like Mars, the front of Jove himſelf,
> A combination, and a form indeed,
> Where every god did ſeem to ſet his ſeal,
> To give the world aſſurance of a man!" *

Oppreſſed by the diſconſolate ſenſibilities, which this melancholy occaſion has excited, yet inſpired by a ven-

* Shakeſpear.

eration which no ſenſe of calamity can ſuſpend, how ſhall the feeble eulogiſt of the moment retrace the path of the hero through the rugged acclivities of his fame; how ſhadow t e outlines of a life, whoſe influence on ſociety has baffled the imitation of the wiſe; how define the great proportions of a character, which, like the electric principle, can only be deſcribed by its effects? What wing of human deſcription ſhall ſoar to the unclouded height of his talents; what chemiſtry of human judgment ſhall ſeparate the elements of his virtues? The magnificence of his deeds has outvied the heraldry of fancy; and the purity of his motives has bewildered the deductions of reaſon.

From his firſt appearance on the theatre of public life, ere the modeſt ſimplicity of enterpriſe had invited the decorations of artificial honour, ere the "hair-breadth eſcapes" of the *Monongahela* had elicited the native energies of heroiſm, to the matureſt era of his excellence, when victory had nothing left to beſtow, and Fame herſelf had deſpaired of rendering to his merits their equivalent reward; we behold the ſame undeviating courſe of magnanimous action, riſing, like the ſun, in gradual and majeſtic progreſſion. In no ſituation, to which the emergencies of his country have called him, however inſulated with peril, or fortified by proſperity, do we at any time detect his invincible equanimity, modified by incident. In no climax of fortune, do we behold him, dejected by obſtacle, or elevated by ſucceſs; deſperate in danger, or ſanguine in triumph. Deliberate to concert, he was vigorous to execute; intrepid to conquer, he was humane to forgive. In council, he united the calculations of the veteran, to the ruling impulſe of the patriot: in battle, he never ſhed the blood of an enemy but for victory, nor gained a victory but for his country.

As the director of that important and dubious conteſt, which iſſued in the eſtabliſhment of our liberty and independence, he diſplayed an impreſſive grandeur of exertion, which marſhalled into hoſtility the fluctu-

ating vigour of his countrymen, and is ſtill remembered with awe in the aſtoniſhment of nations. To the rapacious cabinet of the mother country, which had recently learnt, in the diſaſtrous campaign of BRADDOCK, that her glory was mortal, he had given his name a formidable eſtimation by his military proweſs on that memorable occaſion. In the enjoyment of an ample paternal domain, he was repoſing under the groves of fame and philoſophy, when the chafed lion of New-England "leaped on the daring huntſman, that had galled him," and boldly bade defiance to his power. The dawn of our revolution was overſhadowed with clouds, that would have damped the ardour of any people, whoſe boſoms were not inſpired by the incontrollable enthuſiaſm of liberty. But what hope of ſucceſs could this high-born principle, though ſtimulated by injury, afford to the unwarlike peaſantry of a country, without arms, without diſcipline, without funds, without a leader, in contending with an empire, whoſe policy and valour had for centuries kept the nations of Europe in its toils? Yet, at this inauſpicious juncture, when every proſpect was enveloped with diſaſter; when unſucceſsful oppoſition could promiſe no reward but aggravated oppreſſion, when political infidelity had almoſt chilled with diſmay the kindling fervour of Americans; at this moment, ſo portentous, ſo gloomy, did the calm, inflexible, unaſſimilating WASHINGTON, relinquiſh without reluctance the magnificent retirement of wealth and honour; and, committing to the hazard of the conteſt, the pleaſures, that allured him to ſecluſion, and the character, that attached him to life, appealed to the GOD of armies to atteſt a ſoldier's oath—"*I will triumph, or die with my countrymen!*" Animated by his guiding intelligence, America awoke to the conſciouſneſs of her powers; and, realizing the boaſt of the Roman hero, an army, organized by his creative diſcipline, aroſe at his command.

Through the viciſſitudes of a war, ſingularly fluctuating in its fortunes, and deſolating in its effects, he

diſcovered a conſtant principle of action, which acquired no luſtre from the brilliant exploits it achieved, but derived all its glory from its own original greatneſs. Self-dependent, and ſelf-elevated, it diſdained the fictitious aid of circumſtance; and never did it ſhine with more ſplendour and energy, than when fortune had deſerted him, and his country had deſpaired. The activity of a fortitude, whoſe ſtability was reaſon, invigorated the operations of an intellect, whoſe object was liberty. What but this invincible conſtitution of ſoul, whoſe gigantic philoſophy always roſe with the difficulties it encountered, could have ſuſtained the drooping cauſe of an half-conquered people, at that momentous and almoſt hopeleſs criſis, when the banks of the Delaware were lined by a triumphant enemy, impatient for our ſubjugation; when the ranks of our brave defenders, thinned by battle, by famine and retreat, crimſoned their flying encampments with the blood of their footſteps; when the fate of a continent was ſuſpended on the incredible exertions of a night, and a conſpiracy of the elements oppoſed the progreſs of the eventful enterpriſe? The mind, that was inacceſſible to deſpair, was invulnerable to diſaſter; and at the inſtant, when the fangs of our invader were unclutched to faſten on his prey, when his pampered ambition was gloating on the ſpoils of unconditional ſubmiſſion, the diſtant thunder of the cannon at *Trenton* arouſed him from his dreams of dominion, and convinced him that the reſources of a WASHINGTON were not to be computed by the extent of his entrenchments, nor his activity to be palſied by a campaign of diſaſters.

To the pen of the hiſtorian muſt be reſigned the more arduous and elaborate tribute of juſtice to thoſe efforts of heroic and political virtue, which conducted the American people to peace and liberty. The vanquiſhed foe retired from our reſpiring ſhores, and left to the CONTROLLING GENIUS, who repelled them, the gratitude of his own country, and the admiration of

the world. The time had now arrived, which was to apply the touchſtone to his integrity, which was to aſſay the affinity of his principles to the ſtandard of immutable right. Enjoying the unbounded confidence of an emancipated people, whoſe filial reverence had aſſociated in his character, a greatneſs, unexampled by patriotiſm, with a purity, unſunned by ſuſpicion, and commanding the implicit affections of an army of veterans, whoſe unliquidated demands, on the juſtice of an impoveriſhed public, might have rendered them zealous inſtruments of ambition, the deliverer of his country was now the arbiter of its fate. It was now the flood-tide of his glory, on which he had only to embark, and the current would have wafted him to his haven. That deciſive moment in the exiſtence of nations and men, on which the deſtinies of both are ſuſpended, was now flitting on the dial's point of the criſis. On the one hand, a realm, to which he was endeared by his ſervices, almoſt invited him to empire: on the other, the liberty, to whoſe protection his life had been devoted, was the ornament and boon of human nature. WASHINGTON could not depart from his own great ſelf. His country was free; he was no longer a General! Sublime ſpectacle! more elevating to the pride of virtue, than the ſovereignty of the globe united to the ſceptre of ages! Enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, the gorgeous pageantry of prerogative was unworthy the majeſty of his dominion. That effulgence of military character, which in ancient States has blaſted the rights of the people, whoſe renown it had brightened, was not *here* permitted, by the hero, from whom it emanated, to ſhine with ſo deſtructive a luſtre. Its beams, though intenſely reſplendent, did not wither the young bloſſoms of our independence; and liberty, like the *burning buſh*, flouriſhed unconſumed by the glory, which ſurrounded it.

To the illuſtrious founder of our republic was it reſerved, to exhibit the example of a magnanimity, that commanded victory; of a moderation, that retired from

triumph. Unlike the erratic meteors of ambition, whoſe flaming path ſheds a diſaſtrous light on the pages of hiſtory, his bright orb, eclipſing the luminaries, among which it rolled, never portended "fearful change" to religion, nor from its "golden treſſes" ſhook peſtilence on empire. What to *other* heroes has been glory, would to *him* have been diſgrace. To *his* intrepidity it would have added no honorary trophy, to have waded, like the conqueror of *Peru*, through the blood of credulous millions, to plant the ſtandard of triumph at the burning mouth of a volcano! To *his* fame it would have erected no auxiliary monument, to have invaded, like the ravager of *Egypt*, an innocent, though barbarous nation, to inſcribe his name on the pillar of *Pompey!*

Self, the grand hinge, on which revolve the principles and paſſions, that have ſwelled the obituary of nations, made not an unit in the calculations of a mind, which conſidered grandeur as the inſeparable incident of rectitude; which owed to fortune nothing of its glory, to enthuſiaſm nothing of its virtue. From "Heaven's high chancery" had iſſued his commiſſion; he obeyed the godlike precept it contained; he created a nation! The glorious work completed, ſo was his ambition. The reward of his labours was the enjoyment of that liberty he had protected from violation; and the boaſt of his pride was the cultivation of that ſoil he had defended from ſubjection. Amid the fondeſt careſſes of fame, that purſued him to retirement, (bluſh, ye heroic murderers of mankind!) never did the tranſcendent WASHINGTON, on the pinnacle of his greatneſs, deign to be conſcious, that by *his* talents his country was free, that in *her* glory himſelf was immortal!

Public opinion has in all ages been as volatile as the air, that wafts it; and the fate, which has attended the benefactors of their country, has been as chequered as the paſſions, and perverſe as the ingratitude of man. A tyrant, ſainted by the people he had enſlaved, has

been elevated to a niche in the pantheon; while a hero, whoſe talents and ſervices had propped a falling empire, has found at laſt a more faithful friend in the maſtiff that conducted him, than in the nation he had protected. But it has been the peculiar lot of a WASHINGTON, to unite to an integrity, which could impeach the ambition of malice, the vigilance of an enterpriſe, which could arreſt the deciſions of fortune. Through the long labours of a life, which forms an epoch in hiſtory, never for a moment was he rivalled in the affections of his countrymen; and to the honour of Americans, be it recorded, that their gratitude to the man, who had eſtabliſhed their independence, exiſted, at the period of impending anarchy, the only cementing bond of union, which preſerved their jarring intereſts from a deſtructive colliſion.

The temporary ſtructure of the old confederation, which had been planned merely for the purpoſes of a revolutionary government, when the paſſions of the people were united, was found, upon a brief experiment, to be totally incompetent to direct the affairs of an extending nation, when peace had reſtored the complicated occupations of life, and demanded a more uniform protection from the energies of law. The inconveniencies, reſulting from its defects, had given occaſion to deſigning demagogues, who hoped to profit by a ſeparation of the States, to foment diviſions among a people, who too lightly valued the bleſſings they enjoyed. The union of the country was in danger; and the evil was of too baneful a nature to admit of a partial or dilatory remedy. But, how novel, how aſpiring, was the hope of connecting, under one compact code of general juriſprudence, ſo many diſtinct ſovereignties, each jealous of its independence, without impairing their reſpective authorities! The unbalanced bodies of the confederacy had almoſt overcome the attracting power, that reſtrained them; when the watchful guardian of his country's intereſts, the heart-uniting WASHINGTON appeared, the political magnet in the centre

of diſcord, and reconciled and conſolidated the claſhing particles of the ſyſtem in an indiſſoluble union of government.

Poſſeſſing, as well from experience, as intuition, the maſter ſcience, that could direct the impulſes of human action; and inveſted, by the crowded benefactions of a life of glory, with a charm of eloquence, which impreſſed the convictions of reaſon on the pliant gratitude of his countrymen; he ruled in the councils of that auguſt body of ſtateſmen and patriots, the fruit of whoſe co-operating talents was the preſent Conſtitution of America. By the unanimous ſuffrage of an enlightened and confiding people, appointed to the adminiſtration of a government, in whoſe conſtruction he had exerted ſo beneficial an influence, he brought, to the execution of that important and arduous truſt, the energy of a mind, whoſe elevation could borrow no dignity from ſtation, and the integrity of a heart, whoſe ſenſibility could receive no bias but from his country. With what wiſdom and vigour he diſcharged the hazardous and thronging duties of an incipient magiſtracy, the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled increaſe of national credit and wealth, and the happineſs and morality of the people, will furniſh a more ſatisfactory evidence, than the moſt brilliant deſcription of the panegyriſt. In this unprecedented tranſition of office, his character had aſſumed a new and aſtoniſhing attitude; the impenetrable hardihood of the conqueror was rivalled by the intelligent policy of the ſtateſman. Pierced by the glance of his adminiſtration, PARTY, like the recreant eye of the felon, ſhrunk abaſhed from his ſcrutiny; and, unnerved by the ſanctity of his perſon, DEGENERACY, like the viper at *Melita*, fell harmleſs from his hand. Appalled by the oppreſſive contemplation of his greatneſs, the "cloud-capt" creſt of AMBITION was overawed by the majeſty of virtue; and, maddened to deſperation by the invulnerable purity of his life, the ſnakes of ENVY recoiled upon the head of their miſ-

treſs, and burrowed to the brain, that ſupplied their venom.

EXEMPLAR OF HEROES! in what favoured nation, or era, ſhall the exulting philanthropiſt record the exiſtence of a character, uniting, like thine, in one bright conſtellation of talents, every civic and military glory, that blazons in legend, or beams in hiſtory? Should we ſearch in the archives of claſſic antiquity, we might find a wiſe and venerable FABIUS, who, like thee, could "ſave a nation by delay;"* but never, like thee, could ſeize victory by enterpriſe, and outſtride fortune by the foreſight of philoſophy! We might behold the majeſtic CINCINNATUS, who, like thee, in the vigour of Roman heroiſm, could return from the conqueſt of his country's enemies, to his humble *Mount Vernon* beyond the *Tyber;* but never, like thee, to protect from faction the liberties he had wreſted from invaſion! We might trace the great JULIUS, extending the terror of his eagles, through realms, before unſhadowed by their pinions; we might follow him to the forum, and liſten to an eloquence, like thine, when applauding ſenates inſtinctly moved at his control; but *where*, in the map of *thy* victories, ſhall we find the banks of a *Rubicon!*

Encumbered with honours, the father of his country once more returned to the unambitious abodes of his affection, followed by the tears and bleſſings of his fellow-citizens!—The glory, which had encircled the ſcenes of his action, could not be excluded by the ſolitude of retirement. He had deveſted the inſignia of command; but his empire was not diminiſhed. He had ſurrendered the badges of fame; but the gaze of the world did not ſuſpend its veneration. The *name* of WASHINGTON was ſtill a battlement to his country, under whoſe protection liberty exulted, at whoſe terrors hoſtility trembled.

Though remote from the cauſes of European conteſt, yet affected by the convulſions it excited, in vain

* PHILENIA.

had our nation attempted to maintain with honour an unprotected neutrality. Piracy plundered the ocean;—Invaſion threatened our ſhores. Again, were the eyes of America directed with trembling ſolicitude to her venerable deliverer; and, *again* did this MAN WITHOUT EXAMPLE, THIS PATRIOT WITHOUT REPROACH, whoſe life was his country, whoſe glory was mankind, reſign with alacrity, to the cauſe he had ſworn to defend, the tranquil hope of repoſe, to which he had devoted the unclouded evening of a life of toils!——The character was perfect! WASHINGTON now touched "the higheſt point of all his greatneſs." A more than human ſplendour ſurrounded him. The etherial ſpirit of his virtues towered above the globe they adorned, and ſeemed to meditate their departure to their native manſion. Of the frailty of man, nothing now remained but his mortality; and, having accompliſhed the embaſſy of a benevolent Providence—having been the founder of one nation, and the ſublime inſtructor of all—HE TOOK HIS FLIGHT TO HEAVEN;——not like *Mahomet*, for his memory is immortal without the fiction of a miracle;——not like *Elijah*, for recording Time has not regiſtered the man, *on whom his mantle ſhould deſcend*;——but in humble imitation of that OMNIPOTENT ARCHITECT, who returned from a created univerſe, to contemplate from his throne the ſtupendous fabric he had erected!

The auguſt form, whoſe undaunted majeſty could arreſt the lightning, ere it fell on the boſom of his country, now ſleeps in ſilent ruin, untenanted of its celeſtial eſſence. But the incorruptible example of his virtues ſhall ſurvive, unimpaired by the corroſion of time; and acquire new vigour and influence, from the crimes of ambition, and the decay of empires. The invaluable valediction, bequeathed to the people, who inherited his affections, is the effort of a mind, whoſe powers, like thoſe of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progreſs of human reaſon, and unfold truth without the labour of inveſtigation. Impreſſed in indelible

characters, this LEGACY OF HIS INTELLIGENCE will deſcend, unſullied as its purity, to the wonder and inſtruction of ſucceeding generations; and, ſhould the mild philoſophy of its maxims be ingrafted into the policy of nations, at no diſtant period will the departed hero, who now lives only in the ſpotleſs ſplendour of his own great actions, exiſt in the happineſs and dignity of mankind.

The ſighs of cotemporary gratitude have attended the SUBLIME SPIRIT to its paternal abode; and the prayers of ameliorated poſterity will aſcend in glowing remembrance of their illuſtrious benefactor! The laurels, that now droop, as they ſhadow his tomb with monumental glory, will be cultivated by the tears of ages; and, embalmed in the heart of an admiring world, the temple, erected to his memory, will be more glorious than the *pyramids*, and as eternal as his own imperiſhable virtues!

An Eulogy

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Delivered before the Inhabitants of MEDFORD, *(Maſſ.)*

AT THE REQUEST OF THEIR COMMITTEE,

On the 13th of January, 1800.

BY JOHN BROOKS, A.M. M.M.S. & A.A.S.

SUSPENDING the ordinary employments of life, we, my reſpected friends, have entered this temple, to pay our laſt, ſad tribute of reſpect to the memory of one, who was "*the firſt in war, the firſt in peace, and the firſt in the hearts of his countrymen.*" And how ſuitable is it, that we *here* unite to mingle our griefs, and aſſociate our ſolemn obſequies, with religious rites! We thus declare to the world our veneration of wiſdom, and appeal to Heaven for the ſincerity of the applauſe we beſtow on virtue.

The interjunction of public eulogies with funeral ſolemnities, is a practice neither novel nor unuſeful. Emanating from the ſtrength and poignance of grief for departed merit, it is the expreſſion of an affection of the human heart, which may be beneficially indulged; and may the preſent occaſion not only atteſt our ſenſe of the irreparable loſs we mourn, but lead us, individually, to ſuch reflections as ſhall tend to fortify our virtues, and mend the heart.

Vain would be the attempts of the moſt accompliſhed eulogiſt, to do juſtice to a character ſo tranſcendently illuſtrious, as that of our late dear and much-loved WASHINGTON. What language, indeed, can portray his worth? What powers of utterance are adequate to the delineation of an image correſponding

to the life? A nation in cypreſs and in tears is an expreſſive panegyric; but his life and actions will ultimately prove his moſt faithful eulogium.

Since, then, the man, who was the pride of his country, and the boaſt of human kind, tranſcends our praiſe, let us, as a teſtimony of our profound reſpect for his memory, recur to his life and actions. In executing this pleaſing, painful taſk, the limits of the preſent performance will reſtrain us to a brief ſelection of ſuch particulars, as are moſt prominent and intereſting.

The propitious event of the birth of GEORGE WASHINGTON happened in Virginia, on the twenty-ſecond day of February, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two. And ſo long as wiſdom ſhall be revered, talents command reſpect, or virtue inſpire eſteem, ſo long will the American breaſt exult, that he was a native of this weſtern world.

There being, at the proper time for his inſtruction, no public ſeminary of celebrity in that part of the country, his father committed the education of his ſon to the direction of private inſtructors. Without documents correctly to aſcertain the routine of his early education, we preſume it to have been ſuch, as ſubſtantially and efficaciouſly to facilitate the evolution of thoſe talents and principles, upon which the ſuperſtructure of his exalted fame was afterward erected. His animal powers aided in the execution. The ſon of a planter, and accuſtomed, from his childhood, to ſuch occaſional employments and exerciſes, as to enſure health and muſcular ſtrength, his perſon was remarkably robuſt and athletic. Animal powers, leſs firm and elaſtic, might, perhaps, have been inſufficient to ſuſtain the operations of ſo great a mind, always comprehenſive in its views, inceſſant in its efforts, and teeming with reſources. Fitted thus, equally for executing, as for projecting enterpriſes, we ſee him in youth indicating thoſe traits of ſuperiority, which, in after-life, became ſo ſtriking and characteriſtic.

Hence we may account for his almoſt premature

advancement to offices of truſt and reſponſibility. In the year 1753, at the age of twenty-one years, and already a Major, and Adjutant-General in the provincial ſervice, he was deputed, by the governor of Virginia, to hold a treaty with various nations of weſtern Indians; and was, at the ſame time, honoured with a miſſion to the commander in chief of the French on the Ohio, remonſtrating againſt the inroads they were making on the territory of Virginia, in violation of ſubſiſting treaties between the kings of England and France. The ſucceſsful termination of this perilous and complicated embaſſy, through immenſe tracts of inhoſpitable deſerts, merited and obtained the thanks of his country. His journal of this miſſion, publiſhed ſoon after its termination, appears to have been the firſt public eſſay of his pen, which, as is obſerved by his biographer, "did great credit to his induſtry, attention, and judgment."

The aggreſſions of the French were ſoon more manifeſt and daring; and he was appointed Colonel of a regiment raiſed in Virginia; in which rank he continued to command the troops, from his colony, until the arrival of General Braddock, from England, in the year 1755. He then reſigned his command, and acted as Aid-de-Camp to that unfortunate General. A detail of his defeat will not be expected. But, from the hiſtory of that diſaſtrous day, a ſtrong preſumption ariſes, that had not the haughty indocility of that European Chief rendered him deaf to the counſels of his young American Aid, he would have eſcaped the horrors and infamy of a defeat. All the Britiſh officers and ſoldiers, who ſurvived the carnage of that fatal day, were indebted for their lives to the conduct, reſolution, and valour of Colonel WASHINGTON, and a few of his faithful American friends.

From this period, reſuming the command of the provincials, he continued to bear a principal part in the military arrangements and operations of the war, and diſplayed, on every ſuitable occaſion, perſevering induſtry, perſonal courage, and martial ſkill.

In the year 1759, he reſigned his command of the troops, and ſoon became a member of the legiſlature of his native colony; and was as aſſiduous to ſerve his country in her councils, as he had been active to defend her in the field.

About this time he formed a conjugal connexion with the amiable and accompliſhed woman, now widowed and diſconſolate by his death.

A cultivation of the arts of peace, however conducive and eſſential to the happineſs of ſocial life, is denied that applauſe from the world, which it ſo eagerly laviſhes on the ſtateſman and the ſoldier. For ſeveral years ſucceeding the peace of 1763, Colonel WASHINGTON, the farmer of Mount Vernon, paid particular attention to the cultivation of his eſtates, and the diffuſion of agricultural improvements among the planters of Virginia. But though agriculture was receiving all the aids of his genius and taſte, and the favourite ſeat of his reſidence was made to flouriſh like an Eden, we hear little of the future Deliverer of his Country, till the portentous lowering in the eaſtern hemiſphere announced a ſpeedy and tremendous irruption.

In the firſt Congreſs aſſembled at Philadelphia, to avert, or prepare for the impending ſtorm, we find, on the liſt of thoſe patriots and worthies, the name of WASHINGTON. But when the black tempeſt of civil war had burſt upon our country, the eyes of the great Council of the Colonies, as well as of all thoſe who knew his merits in the preceding war, were fixed on him, as General and Commander in Chief of the army.

The unanimous ſuffrage of that auguſt body, at once, gave him that elevated, but dangerous appointment, encouraged his acceptance of it, and ſerved as a preſage to that union of councils and of force, ſo requiſite for final and triumphant ſucceſs.

After the wanton conflagration and capture of our ſiſter Charleſtown, and the untimely death of the hopeful Warren, the animating preſence of a WASHINGTON, who was received by our army at Cambridge, in July,

1775, elevated the drooping ſpirits of the troops, then forming the tardy blockade of Boſton. Without diſcipline, badly armed, and deſtitute of artillery, and every deſcription of warlike ſtores, no operations againſt the enemy could be warrantably undertaken, until the ſpring of the year 1776. In conſequence of the approaches, which better ſupplies had enabled the army to make againſt the enemy, General WASHINGTON, then, compelled them to abandon our capital.

This year, however, was marked by a rapid ſucceſſion of trying and agonizing events. The loſs of Long-Iſland, of the city and iſland of New-York, including fort Waſhington and its garriſon; the loſs of fort Lee, and the abandonment of the whole of the State of New-Jerſey; our misfortunes in, and the ultimate loſs of, Canada, and of the principal part of the army that invaded it; the defeat and capture of our fleet on Lake Champlain; the occurrence of two diſtreſſing and fatal epidemics, reducing and enfeebling the army; to which may be ſuperadded, the capture of General Lee; form only a part of the diſmal and dejecting ſeries.

Thoſe of you, my friends, who were actors on the ſtage at that eventful period, will recollect the gloom with which the public mind was overſpread and ſaddened, the languor of the public pulſe, and that oppreſſive anxiety, which the reiterated calamities of the year had induced.

But the arm of WASHINGTON, by a ſingle bold and daring effort, reſuſcitated the hopes of a deſponding people. The ſurpriſe and capture of the Heſſians at Trenton flew, with electric ſpeed, through the continent, thrilled through the hearts, and renovated the courage of dejected millions.

From this period, till the year 1781, the war was continued with various ſucceſs; and WASHINGTON, through all its viciſſitudes, maintained a virtuous empire over the affections of his countrymen.

It was within the compaſs of this period, however, that envy, that cankerworm of integrity and repub-

licaniſm, was meditating means to detach the affections of the people, and the confidence of the ſeveral governments of the country, from their beloved Chief, to pluck the laurel from his brow, and rob him of his honeſt, his hard-earned fame. But, happily for America, for liberty, and for humanity, the machinations of diſappointed ambition were diſconcerted, and the friend of the people found the people to be his friends.

During this interval, an intereſting occurrence ſupervened, which, while it exerciſed his feelings as a man, evinced that correctneſs of judgment, that unſhaken ſteadineſs of purpoſe, and inflexible regard to his public duty, which exalted and characterized the man, and which, with ſo much juſtice, commanded the unlimited confidence of his country. At the defection of Arnold, every American ſhuddered, and virtue itſelf ſtood appalled. When the captivity of the Britiſh agent, for concerting that inſidious treaſon, was known in their camp, every engine of inſinuation, and terror, was employed, to reſcue from impending fate, that, hitherto, favourite of fortune, and of the Britiſh army. But General WASHINGTON, in whom were combined the fine poliſh of Attic refinement, with the ſternneſs of Spartan virtue, reſiſted their ſolicitations with addreſs, and their menaces with firmneſs. And the faithful guardian of his country's ſafety and honour, obeying the dictates of a ſevere, but impoſing policy, aſſigned the hapleſs Andre to the deſtiny of a ſpy.

In the year 1781, the deciſive blow was given to the Britiſh military operations in the United States. The capture of lord Cornwallis, and his army, terminated the war. As this ſplendid event added freſh luſtre to his glory, his praiſes, enlivening every tongue, were reſounded from one extreme of an extenſive empire of liberty to the other, and he was ſaluted as the ſaviour of his country.

Such is the ſtructure, and the imbecility of the human mind, that praiſe is extremely prone to deſtroy its equilibrium. But the Ariſtides, as well as the Fabius of the age, neither deſpondent in adverſity, nor elated with ſucceſs, preſerved a philoſophical equanimity, amid the moſt copious effuſions of encomium and panegyric: and when a Ceſar would have aſſumed the purple, or a Cromwell uſurped the protectorſhip, he reſigned, with eagerneſs, the proud inſignia of command, and converted the ſplendid weapons of war, into the humble implements of the arts of peace.

To moſt men in public life, at the cloſe of the revolutionary war, it was well known that General WASHINGTON felt little confidence in the efficiency or durability of the exiſting form of government. On this point, his circular letter to the ſeveral States indicated his diffidence. A ſhort lapſe of time verified his apprehenſions. In leſs than three years the confederation was annihilated. The moment was awful and perilous. But the evils of anarchy were repreſſed by the joint force of ſentiment and habit; and a government of energy was demanded, from New-Hampſhire to Georgia. A convention of patriots, and ſages, in which General WASHINGTON preſided, was aſſembled; and that ſyſtem of government, which was adminiſtered by him for eight ſucceſſive years, with ſo much dignity and effect, was the reſult of their united labours. The manner in which he fulfilled the high duties of the preſidency of the United States, is known to this aſſembly.

As chief of the army, during the late war, General WASHINGTON became perſonally known to a vaſt proportion of the people of theſe States; and his name is regiſtered in the hearts of all. But as Chief Magiſtrate of the nation, being the organ of intercourſe with foreign nations, his celebrity became univerſal; and the name of WASHINGTON is pronounced with pleaſure, and with pride, by the people of every civilized nation on earth.

Such was the man, who triumphantly led your armies in war, and preſided in your councils in peace.

To fortune, every man, who, ſurmounting uncommon obſtacles, ſucceeds in enterpriſes of magnitude and hazard, is, uſually, more or leſs indebted. But the verity of this poſition we do not ſuffer to detract from the merit of our departed ſage. Of what uſe are all the mines of Mexico and Peru, while latent and unexplored? Or what avail the greateſt human powers, unleſs they are preſented with objects ſuitable to their exerciſe? Utility alone conſummates and ſtamps their value.

> "Full many a flower is born to bluſh unſeen,
> And waſte its ſweetneſs on the deſert air."

But opportunity, that genial ſunbeam, which opens and expands the bud of every human faculty and virtue, gave ample ſcope for the developement of his mighty energies, and for the expanſion and exerciſe of his manly virtues. And in comparing the actual ſituation of our country, its dangers, its wants, and its ultimate deſtination to independence, with the talents, the reſources, and virtues of General WASHINGTON, we are ſtruck with admiration and wonder at the preciſe and happy adaptation of one to the other.

To the ſketches of his life, already ſo imperfectly given, his late acceptance of the command of the army muſt be ſuperadded. At a time, when nature was ſoliciting repoſe, and retirement was, more than ever, an object of his ardent wiſhes, he was unexpectedly preſented with his appointment. The moment was deemed critical and important: he felt its force; and again, ſacrificing every private conſideration, yielded to the wiſhes of an anxious public; rejecting on this, as on every ſimilar occaſion, from the commencement of the revolution, every idea of pecuniary emolument for his ſervice.

The ſequel of his life was in uniſon with the paſt. In the laſt ſolemn ſcene, when the wealth and the honours of the world were receding from his view,

he ſtill acted like himſelf—he ſtill was WASHINGTON. When the ſpeedy termination of his life was announced to him, by his friend and phyſician, with dignified compoſure he awaited and welcomed the approach of death. Thus was our much loved friend, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, great in war, great in peace, great in life, and great in the moment of his diſſolution.

And are the eyes of WASHINGTON cloſed in death? Has he, who ſo lately was the pride of arms, who was himſelf a hoſt, fallen a prey to the fell ravager of our race? The aching heart reluctates, while it is compelled to realize the tale of wo. But, mute be every murmur—checked be every tear. What though his once manly, graceful form be now mingling with its native duſt, yet WASHINGTON ſtill lives immortal. Yes: he lives in his matchleſs example; he lives in thoſe leſſons of wiſdom which flowed from his pen; he lives in our hearts, and in the hearts of a grateful country; he lives, tranſporting thought! reſplendent with glory, in the realms of ceaſeleſs day.

An Oration

ON THE DEATH OF

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Delivered at *CHARLESTON*, (S. C.) January 15, 1800, at the Requeſt of the Inhabitants.

BY DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

IF ever any country owed to one of its citizens an incalculable debt of gratitude, that country is the United States, that citizen was the late GEORGE WASHINGTON. To do juſtice to his exalted merit, far exceeds my abilities. In making the attempt, I muſt ſurely fail, for none could ſucceed. I not only crave, but claim your indulgence. The taſk on which I am entering is of your appointment, and it is of ſuch a delicate and arduous nature, that to its proper execution, not only my feeble powers, but the firſt abilities in the world would be inadequate.

On the 11th of February, 1732, Virginia had the honour of giving birth to the illuſtrious man, whoſe death we this day deplore. His anceſtors migrated from England, and were among the firſt ſettlers of this firſt of the Britiſh provinces in America. I cannot ſpeak from poſitive anecdote, what was his ſituation and employment for the firſt twenty years of his life; but I have heard, that in his youth he was remarkably grave, ſilent, and thoughtful, active and methodical in buſineſs, highly dignified in his appearance and manners, and ſtrictly honourable in all his deportment.

The firſt public notice of him, that I have ſeen, was in a note to a ſermon, printed in London forty-five years ago, which had been preached a ſhort time be-

fore, in Hanover-county, Virginia, on ſome public occaſion, by the late Preſident Davies. In this, the preacher obſerved, "I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope, Providence has hitherto preſerved for ſome important ſervice to his country." As no thought of American Independence was entertained at that early day, this obſervation could only have been founded in a knowledge of his talents and character. Indeed his appearance would have juſtified ſuch a preſentiment, for majeſty and dignity were remarkably conſpicuous in his countenance, and the figure of his perſon.

Very ſoon after young WASHINGTON was twenty-one years of age, he was employed by the government of Virginia, on an embaſſy to negociate the removal of ſome French ſettlers from the Ohio, who had fortified themſelves in the vicinity of that river, on lands claimed by the King of Great-Britain. In the execution of this truſt, he travelled upwards of four hundred miles, and his route, for one half of that diſtance, led through pathleſs woods, inhabited only by ſavage beaſts and more ſavage men. He was attended only by one companion, and proceeded on foot from Wincheſter: his negociations failing, Virginia raiſed three hundred men, and put them under his command, and inſtructed him to proceed to the Ohio. An engagement took place, between the French and Virginians, in which the former were at firſt defeated; but being afterwards reinforced with nine hundred men, they reduced Colonel WASHINGTON, after making a brave defence, to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to honourable terms of capitulation.

The conteſt, about theſe lands, becoming more ſerious, General Braddock was ſent with a regular force from Great-Britain, to ſupport the claims of his Britannic Majeſty. His impetuous valour puſhed him forward into an ambuſcade of French and Indians, in which he was killed, and his army routed. The remains of it were rallied, and brought off in ſafety, un-

der the direction and by the addreſs of Colonel WASHINGTON.

The next expedition was more ſucceſsful, and reſtored tranquillity to the province of Virginia. When this event took place, the young citizen ſoldier, being no longer called to the diſcharge of military duty, reſumed his habits of civil life, and continued therein, until a new and unexpected ſcene, about twenty years after, brought him forward on a much more conſpicuous theatre.

In the year 1774, the Britiſh miniſtry completed their ſyſtem for taxing their Colonies. America was rouſed; and, by a ſimultaneous impulſe, formed a Congreſs of her moſt enlightened ſons, to deviſe ſuch meaſures as bid faireſt to preſerve her endangered liberties. To this illuſtrious aſſembly WASHINGTON was deputed, and he contributed his full proportion in forming the wiſe plans which were by them adopted. Great-Britain turned a deaf ear to their petitions, and proceeded to coerce the Colonies by a military force. Maſſachuſetts being immediately attacked, had, in the firſt inſtance, embodied an army for its defence; but as ſoon as it was determined to make a common cauſe with that much injured province, it became neceſſary that her local army ſhould be made the army of the United Colonies, and be officered by Congreſs.

New-England had her Pomeroy, her Ward, and her Putnam, and many others who had ſeen as much, or perhaps more ſervice than WASHINGTON; yet their wiſe delegates concurred in elevating the Virginian over their own favourite ſons. The appointment of a commander in chief of all the armies raiſed, or to be raiſed, was effected by an unanimous vote, and without competition. Not only Congreſs, but the inhabitants in every part of the United Colonies, ſeemed, by one conſent, to point to WASHINGTON, as the choſen inſtrument of Heaven, to guide them, through the ſtorms of war, to the haven of peace and ſafety. His native

modeſty begat diſtruſts in his own breaſt, from which others were free.

In his acceptance of the office, he deſired, "that it might be remembered by every gentleman preſent, that he declared, with the utmoſt ſincerity, that he did not think himſelf equal to the command with which he was honoured."

On the third of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon the duties of his high ſtation. Great were the difficulties which preſſed on the new commander in chief. To introduce diſcipline and ſubordination among the free huſbandmen, who had lately aſſumed the military character, and who were accuſtomed to act from the impulſe of their own minds, was an arduous labour. To procure effective ſervice from men who carry with them the ſpirit of freedom into the field, requires virtues which are rarely found in military characters. The greater part of the Americans, officers as well as ſoldiers, had never ſeen any ſervice, were ignorant of their duty, and but feebly impreſſed with the ideas of union, ſubordination, and diſcipline. To form an army of ſuch materials, fit to take the field againſt Britiſh veteran troops, was the taſk aſſigned to General WASHINGTON. In effecting this, he conducted with ſo much prudence, as to make it doubtful whether we ought moſt to admire the patient, accommodating ſpirit of the man, or the conſummate addreſs of the general.

The American troops were only engaged for a few months' ſervice, and were in a great meaſure deſtitute of ammunition. On the 4th of Auguſt, 1775, and for fourteen days after, the whole ſtock of powder in the American camp, and in the public magazines of New-England, was not ſufficient to make ten rounds a man. Under all theſe diſadvantages, the commander in chief adopted ſuch efficient arrangements, as protected the country, confined the Britiſh army to Boſton, and finally obliged them to evacuate that city on the 17th of March, 1776. His conduct was ſo pleaſing to Con-

greſs, that they ordered a medal to be ſtruck, with ſuitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of the great event; and ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the people of Maſſachuſetts, that he was preſented with a moſt flattering addreſs from their Council and Houſe of Repreſentatives.

Hitherto General WASHINGTON had embarked in the war with the fond idea of a reconcilement with the parent ſtate. Independence was an after-thought, forced on the Colonies by the refuſal of Great-Britain to redreſs their grievances. Though he was not among the firſt to embrace the ſcheme of independence, yet as ſoon as he perceived the neceſſity of the meaſure, he heartily came into it. Far from wiſhing ſuch a turn of affairs, as muſt neceſſarily lead to his perſonal aggrandizement, as long as one ray of hope remained, he ardently panted for ſuch a return of moderation and wiſdom to the rulers of Great-Britain, as would have united the two countries in their ancient habits of union and friendſhip.

Soon after the evacuation of Boſton, General WASHINGTON, with the army under his command, took their poſition in New-York. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter at Boſton, but much greater preſſed upon him in New-York. In the former ſituation, he commanded a force far ſuperior in number to the enemy: in the latter, his whole army was ſhort of 18,000 men; and of theſe a great proportion was militia. To theſe were oppoſed upwards of 30,000 Britiſh veterans, ſupported by a powerful navy. In this ſituation, after much thought, General WASHINGTON reſolved on a war of poſts. He ſtood his ground, as long as it could be done, without riſking too much, and then prevented the laſt extremity, by evacuating and retreating. He rightly judged, that to him, delay was victory; and not to be conquered, was to conquer. By this policy, he wore away the campaign of 1776. Though the Britiſh counted on the complete conqueſt of the Colonies in that year, it was the middle of Sep-

tember before they got footing in the city of New-York, and beyond the middle of November before they obtained full poſſeſſion of New-York iſland.

The evacuating and retreating ſyſtem, adopted by General WASHINGTON, ſubjected him to the clamours of ſhort-ſighted politicians, who queſtioned his deciſion and ſpirit. He had it always in his power to have vindicated himſelf, by ſtating the inferiority of his numbers, and the total unfitneſs of his raw troops to contend with the veteran force oppoſed to them; but with true magnanimity he bore thoſe reproaches, and concealed his real ſituation.

In the latter end of November, the Britiſh commanders, inſtead of retiring into winter quarters, after driving the Americans from the State of New-York, purſued them into New-Jerſey, with the fair proſpect of annihilating their whole force. The moment was critical. Dangers and difficulties preſſed on all ſides. On the ſixteenth of November, 2700 of the American army were taken priſoners in fort Waſhington. In fourteen days after that event, the flying camp, amounting to 10,000 men, having ſerved out their time, claimed their diſcharge. Other whole regiments, on ſimilar grounds, did the ſame. The few that remained with General WASHINGTON ſcarcely exceeded 3000, and they were in a moſt forlorn condition, without tents, or blankets, or any utenſils to dreſs their proviſions. Under all theſe diſadvantages, they were obliged to conſult their ſafety, by retreating towards Philadelphia, from a victorious army, preſſing cloſe on their rear. As they marched through the country, ſcarcely one of the inhabitants joined them, while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army for protection. Not only the common people changed ſides in this gloomy ſtate of affairs; but ſeveral of the leading men in New-Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, adopted the ſame expedient. Congreſs fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The hearts of many brave Americans began to fail,

and to give up all hope of maintaining their independence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquiſhing their General; the people giving up the cauſe; ſome of their leaders going over to the enemy, and the Britiſh commanders ſucceeding in every enterpriſe, General WASHINGTON did not deſpair. He ſlowly retreated before the advancing foe, and determined to fall back to Pennſylvania—to Auguſta county in Virginia—and, if neceſſary, to the weſtward of yonder Mountains, where he was reſolved, in the laſt extremity, to renew the ſtruggle for the independence of his country. While his unconquered mind was brooding on theſe ideas, 1500 of the Pennſylvania militia joined him. With this ſmall increaſe of force he formed the bold reſolution of re-croſſing the Delaware, and attacking that part of the enemy which was poſted in Trenton. Heaven ſmiled on the enterpriſe. On the 26th of December, 900 Heſſians were killed, wounded or taken priſoners. This bold enterpriſe was, in eight days after, followed by another, which was planned with great addreſs. General WASHINGTON with his army ſtole away under cover of the night, from the vicinity of a force far ſuperior to his own, and attacked in their rear a detachment of the Britiſh poſted in Princeton: 300 were taken priſoners, and about 100 killed and wounded. Theſe two victories revived the drooping ſpirits of the Americans, and ſeemed, under Providence, to have been the means of their political ſalvation. They made the Britiſh ſo cautious of extending their poſts, that General WASHINGTON, with an army of 1500 men, for ſeveral months, kept nearly 15,000 of the enemy cloſely pent up in Brunſwick.

The ſame wiſe policy of avoiding deciſive engagements was purſued by our Hero through the campaign of 1777, with ſo much effect, that it was as late as the 26th of September before Sir William Howe poſſeſſed himſelf of Philadelphia. In the various marches and counter-marches which took place between the two

armies, in the courſe of this campaign, repeated proofs were given, that though General WASHINGTON was forward to engage, when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impoſſible for the royal commander to bring him to action againſt his conſent.

I claim your indulgence for recapitulating ſo much of the hiſtory of our late revolution, which is already known to you all. It is no digreſſion. It is all to my purpoſe. When General WASHINGTON is the ſubject, hiſtory and eulogy are the ſame; the ſpeaker praiſes him beſt, who gives the moſt faithful narrative of his actions.

If time permitted, I would run over every campaign, and point out to you, in each, the many inſtances in which our Hero diſplayed the talents of an accompliſhed general, as well as the mild virtues of the father of his country. I would particularize how eager he was to attack, when it could be done to advantage; and with how much dexterity he avoided engagements, when his ſituation was unfavourable. With what addreſs he kept together a half naked, half ſtarved, and unpaid army, particularly in the laſt year of the war, when gold and ſilver were baniſhed from circulation, and the continental currency had depreciated almoſt to nothing. I would unfold how the magic of his name produced union and concert among the jarring States, and their diſcordant troops. I would—but time fails me even to enumerate the topics, from which, by the ſimple relation of facts, I could heighten your admiration of this extraordinary man. I ſhall, therefore, conclude my obſervations on his military career, by obſerving, that in conſequence of a moſt judicious plan, in concerting, and executing which, General WASHINGTON had a principal ſhare, Lord Cornwallis, with 7000 men, was, in October, 1781, compelled to ſurrender to the combined forces of France and the United States. This was the cloſing ſcene of the revolutionary war. At Trenton the firſt, and at York-Town the laſt deciſive blow was given to the Britiſh forces in the

United States, and both were conducted under the immediate command of General WASHINGTON.

Though the capture of Lord Cornwallis, in a great meaſure, terminated the war, yet great and important ſervices were rendered to the United States, by our General, after that event. The army, which had fought the battles of independence, was about to be diſbanded without being paid. At this period, when the minds of both officers and men were in a highly irritable ſtate, attempts were made, by plauſible but ſeditious publications, to induce them to unite in redreſſing their grievances, while they had arms in their hands. The whole of General WASHINGTON'S influence was exerted, and nothing leſs than his unbounded influence would have been availing, to prevent the adoption of meaſures, that threatened to involve the country in an inteſtine war, between the army on the one ſide, and the citizens on the other. If WASHINGTON had been a Julius Ceſar, or an Oliver Cromwell, all we probably would have gained by the revolution would have been a change of our allegiance; from being the ſubjects of George the Third of Great-Britain, to become the ſubjects of George the Firſt of America.

The war being ended; the peace, liberties, and independence of theſe States being acknowledged and ſecured, our beloved General preſents himſelf before Congreſs, and returns into their hands his commiſſion as Commander in Chief of their armies. The ſcene was grand and majeſtic. After having ſucceſsfully ſerved his country for eight years, and conducted its armies through a revolutionary war, which terminated in the eſtabliſhment of the liberties and independence of theſe States, when he is about to retire to private life, does he demand honours or emoluments for himſelf, family, or friends? No ſuch thing. In modeſt language, he recommended to the favourable notice, and patronage of Congreſs, the confidential officers who were attached to his perſon. For them, he indirectly aſks favours, but nothing for himſelf. The only privilege conferred by

Congreſs on the retiring WASHINGTON, which diſtinguiſhed him from any other private citizen, was, a right of ſending and receiving letters free of poſtage. Think not, I mean to charge my country with ingratitude. Nothing would have been refuſed to him, which he wiſhed to have; but to uſe his own language on another occaſion, "he ſhut his hand againſt all pecuniary compenſation."

Do you aſk me, how this illuſtrious General, after being uſed for eight years to camps, bore the languid indifference of private life? Do you inquire, whether he went to Europe in a public or private character? Had he been a vain man, fond of applauſe, or of glittering in the public eye, he would doubtleſs have put himſelf in the way of receiving thoſe flattering attentions, which are ſo eagerly coveted by the vulgar great. Very different was the line of conduct he purſued. After reſigning his commiſſion, he haſtened, with ineffable delight, to his long-neglected farm at Mount Vernon; ſheathed his ſword; laid aſide his uniform, and aſſumed the dreſs and habits of a country gentleman. With the ſame aſſiduity he had lately viſited camps and forts, he began once more to viſit his fields and his mills. In a ſhort time, the firſt general of the world became the beſt farmer in Virginia.

Do you inquire, on what ſubjects this great man, after retiring from an exalted public ſtation, uſed to converſe? Was it his practice to "fight his battles o'er again," and entertain his company with a recital of the great ſcenes in which he had been a principal actor? Aſk the many gentlemen who partook of his hoſpitality, and they will one and all tell you, that he rarely ſpoke of the war, and ſtill more rarely of himſelf, unleſs his gueſts forced converſation upon theſe ſubjects. His favourite topics were agricultural; on theſe he dwelled with peculiar pleaſure, and rejoiced in every opportunity of giving and receiving information on the firſt and beſt employment of man. In this beloved retreat, from the cares and buſineſs of public life, he wiſhed to

ſpend the remainder of his days; but, after having enjoyed himſelf on his farm for four years, his country again called for his ſervices.

From the inefficacy of the articles of Confederation, and from ſeveral other concurring cauſes, a tide of evils flowed in upon the United States, in the years that immediately followed the return of peace. A Convention of the different States was called, to digeſt a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the Union. To this illuſtrious aſſembly General WASHINGTON was deputed, and of it he was unanimouſly elected preſident. His wiſdom had a great ſhare in forming, and the influence of his name a ſtill greater in procuring, the acceptance of the Conſtitution, which the Convention recommended to the people for their adoption. By this, one legiſlative, executive, and judicial power was made to pervade all the States, and the executive in particular was committed to an officer, by the name of Preſident. Though great diverſity of opinions had prevailed about the merits of the new Conſtitution, there was but one opinion about the perſon who ſhould be appointed its ſupreme executive officer. Three millions of people, by their repreſentatives, unanimouſly gave their ſuffrages in favour of GEORGE WASHINGTON. Unambitious of further honours, he wiſhed to be excuſed from all public ſervice; but that ardent patriotiſm, by which he had always been governed, prevailed over his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great work of making a nation happy. The popularity of his name, and the confidence which the people of all the States repoſed in his tried integrity, enabled him to give an energy to the new Conſtitution, which it would not have had under the adminiſtration of any other perſon.

I need not remind you of the great improvements which have taken place in the wealth, reſources, and commerce of the United States ſince WASHINGTON has been Preſident. You know them, you feel them; and the daily increaſing proſperity of our country atteſts them.

In the midſt of this proſperity, a ſtorm aroſe in a far diſtant land, which threatened to involve theſe States in its wide ſpreading devaſtation; but our political pilot once more ſaved us from impending danger. When the war broke out between France and England, an artful miniſter was ſent from the former, with the avowed deſign of involving us in the conteſt. The kindred name of a republic; unbounded love and gratitude to France for beneficial aid, afforded us in our ſtruggle for independence; rankling hatred of Great-Britain for the many injuries ſhe had done us in the ſame period, all concurred to make a ſtrong party among us, favourable to the views of the French miniſter. This was increaſed by impolitic and illegal captures of our floating property, by the veſſels of his Britannic Majeſty. When we were apparently on the point of being drawn into the vortex of the war, Preſident WASHINGTON, by virtue of his conſtitutional powers, prevented it. He nominated an envoy extraordinary to negociate with the Court of London. This, like the veto of a Roman tribune, put a ſtop to all further proceedings; for the legiſlature could not proceed to hoſtile meaſures while the executive was negociating. The man, who, in his military capacity, had ſaved us from Great-Britain, now, in his civil character, ſaved us from ourſelves. The people, though divided in parties, were ſo fully convinced of the rectitude and purity of the conduct of WASHINGTON, that on a ſecond election they elevated him to the ſame exalted ſtation, with an unanimous voice. If my time, or your patience, permitted, I would go over the civil adminiſtration of our late Preſident, and point out to you his judicious arrangements for making us happy at home, and reſpectable abroad; for protecting our commerce; for encouraging our agriculture; for giving vigour to our internal police, by calling into office upright and able men, in every department. I would dilate, with particular pleaſure, on his unwearied endeavours to preſerve the country in peace. While ſome of our citizens

were for France, and others for England, WASHINGTON was for the United States, and with great addreſs preſerved us on both ſides from the horrors of war.

On theſe ſubjects I cannot dwell, and therefore haſten to obſerve, that, after having ſerved his country with great ability, and fidelity, for eight years, in the office of Preſident, he once more retired to private life, covered with honours, and followed by the love and gratitude of all the people. Previous to this event, he gave his laſt parting advice to the citizens of the United States, in the form of a valedictory addreſs. This is in all your hands. Teach it to your children, in the houſe, and by the way, lying down and riſing up, going out and coming in. It is an invaluable legacy. Perhaps there never was ſo much important inſtruction, ſo much good advice, given by any mere man, in the compaſs of ſo few words, as was done by WASHINGTON on this, and a ſimilar occaſion, when he retired from military command.

Our departed friend had not enjoyed his beloved retirement two years, when his country again called for his ſervices. The rulers of France having entirely departed from the principles on which they ſet out, plundered our commerce, inſulted our miniſters of peace; and ſome of their agents went ſo far as to threaten us with invaſion. This impoſed a neceſſity to organize an army, and prepare for the laſt extremity. All the world knew, and WASHINGTON, though the moſt modeſt of men, could not but know, that his name, at the head of our army, would either deter any European power from invading us; or, if they ſhould madly make the attempt, would unite all our citizens as a band of brothers for the common defence. He therefore accepted the appointment; and, though on the verge of threeſcore years and ten, ſtood ready and pledged to take the field, whenever the neceſſities of the country required it. In this attitude, and with a fixed reſolution to ſerve his country in the laſt ebb of his life, and with the laſt drop of his blood, our father

has been ſuddenly ſnatched from us. To loſe ſuch a man, at ſuch a criſis, is no common calamity. Well may you mourn on ſuch an occaſion. Well may you ſhroud yourſelves and your churches in black. Well may the citizens of theſe States, from New-Hampſhire to Georgia, mingle their tears in one great flood of grief. It was wiſe and proper to ſet apart a day, free from buſineſs and care, to give undiſturbed vent to your ſorrows. Who now will wield the ſword of our country againſt our enemies? Many brave and good officers we yet have; but none, like WASHINGTON, can by their very names ſtrike terror into the breaſts of an invading enemy. None, like WASHINGTON, can unite all hearts and hands in the common defence.

Having finiſhed an hiſtorical review of the life of our departed friend, bear with me a few minutes while I attempt to draw his character. For the ſake of thoſe who have never ſeen General WASHINGTON, it may be worth while to obſerve, that his perſon was graceful, well proportioned, and uncommonly tall. When he was cheerful, he had a moſt engaging countenance; when grave, a moſt reſpectable one. There was at all times an air of majeſty and dignity in his appearance.

His learning was of a ſingular kind; he overſtepped the tedious forms of the ſchools, and by the force of a correct taſte and ſound judgment, ſeized on the great ends of learning, without the aſſiſtance of thoſe means, which have been contrived to prepare leſs active minds for public buſineſs. By a careful ſtudy of the Engliſh language, by reading good models of fine writing, and, above all, by the aid of a vigorous mind, he made himſelf maſter of a pure, elegant, and claſſical ſtyle. His compoſition was all nerve; full of correct and manly ideas, which were expreſſed in preciſe and forcible language. His anſwers to the innumerable addreſſes, which on all public occaſions poured in upon him, were promptly made, handſomely expreſſed, and always contained ſomething appropriate. His letters to Congreſs; his addreſſes to that body on the acceptance and

reſignation of his commiſſion; his general orders as Commander in Chief; his ſpeeches and meſſages, as Preſident; and above all, his two farewell addreſſes to the people of the United States, will remain laſting monuments of the goodneſs of his heart, of the wiſdom of his head, and of the eloquence of his pen.

The powers of his mind were in ſome reſpects peculiar. He was a great practical ſelf-taught genius, with a head to deviſe, and a hand to execute projects of the firſt magnitude and greateſt utility. Happily for his country he was not under the dominion of a warm imagination; but he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, what was of infinitely more conſequence, a correct, ſolid judgment. This was improved by cloſe thinking, and ſtrengthened by daily exerciſe. Poſſeſſing a large proportion of common ſenſe, uninfluenced by prejudice, paſſion, or party ſpirit; deliberately weighing, in the balance of a ſound judgment, the poſſible and probable conſequences of every ſtep he took, and being always under the influence of an honeſt, good heart, he was imperceptibly led to deciſions that were wiſe and judicious. It is not pretended that he was infallible; but it may, with truth, be aſſerted, that in the multiplicity of buſineſs, on which he had to decide, his errors were as few in number, as venial in their nature, and as unimportant in their conſequences, as could reaſonably be expected in the preſent imperfect ſtate of the wiſeſt and beſt of men.

Enemies he had, but they were few, and chiefly of the ſame family with the man, who could not bear to hear Ariſtides always called the juſt. Among them all, I have never heard of one who charged him with any habitual vice, or even foible. There are few men of any kind, and ſtill fewer of thoſe the world calls great, who have not ſome of their virtues eclipſed by correſponding vices. But this was not the caſe with General WASHINGTON. He had religion without auſterity; dignity without pride; modeſty without diffidence; courage without raſhneſs; politeneſs with-

out affectation; affability without familiarity. His private character, as well as his public one, will bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny. He was punctual in all his engagements; upright and honeſt in his dealings; temperate in his enjoyments; liberal and hoſpitable to an eminent degree; a lover of order; ſyſtematical and methodical in all his arrangements. He was the friend of morality and religion; ſteadily attended on public worſhip; encouraged and ſtrengthened the hands of the clergy. In all his public acts he made the moſt reſpectful mention of Providence, and, in a word, carried the ſpirit of piety with him, both in his private life and public adminiſtration. He was far from being one of thoſe minute philoſophers, who believe that "death is an eternal ſleep;" or of thoſe, who, truſting to the ſufficiency of human reaſon, diſcard the light of Divine Revelation.

To dwell on all the virtues of General WASHINGTON, would protract my oration beyond the going down of the ſun. I muſt therefore confine myſelf to a few. Among the many that preſent themſelves, his patience and ſpirit of accommodation deſerve particular notice. He had to form ſoldiers of freemen; many of whom had extravagant ideas of their perſonal rights. He had often to mediate between a ſtarving army, and a high ſpirited yeomanry. So great were the neceſſities of the ſoldiers, under his immediate command, that he was obliged to ſend out detachments to ſeize on the property of the farmers at the point of the bayonet. The langûage of the ſoldier was, "Give me cloathing—give me food, or I cannot fight—I cannot live:" The language of the farmer was, "Protect my property." In this choice of difficulties, General WASHINGTON not only kept his army together, but conducted with ſo much prudence, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens. He was alſo dependent for much of his ſupport on the concurrence of thirteen diſtinct unconnected legiſlatures. Animoſities prevailed between his ſouthern and north-

ern troops; and there were ſtrong jealouſies between the States from which they reſpectively came. To harmonize theſe claſhing intereſts—to make uniform arrangements from ſuch diſcordant ſources and materials, required no common ſhare of addreſs: Yet ſo great was the effect of the modeſt, unaſſuming manners of General WASHINGTON, that he retained the affection of all his troops, and of all the States.

Bravery is indiſpenſable in a military man, though it ſtands loweſt in the leaſt of the virtues of a great officer. Our hero poſſeſſed a great ſhare of it. In battle he was the braveſt among the brave. When the ſervice required it, he cheerfully riſked his perſon. Of this I could enumerate many inſtances. I could particularly relate, that on New-York iſland, and at the battle at Princeton, he was ſo far in front of his troops, and expoſed to ſo much danger, that the preſervation of his life can only be accounted for by thoſe, who believe in a particular Providence. Having ſo many more important matters before me, I cannot dwell on this ſubject. How rich in reputation muſt that General be, whoſe courage muſt be thrown in the back ground, to give place for the diſplay of his more important virtues!

General WASHINGTON alſo poſſeſſed equanimity in an eminent degree. One even tenor marked the greatneſs of his mind, in all the variety of ſcenes through which he paſſed. In the moſt trying ſituations, he never deſpaired, nor was he ever depreſſed. Propoſitions, ſupported by plauſible aſſignments, were made to him by honeſt, but deſpairing, timid Americans, to ſave himſelf and his country, by negociating at the head of his army; but in the loweſt ebb of affairs, he ſpurned at every ſuch propoſal. The honours and applauſe he received from his grateful countrymen, at more fortunate periods, would have made any other man giddy; but on him they had no miſchievous effect. He exacted none of thoſe attentions; but, when forced upon him, he received them as favours, with the politeneſs of a well bred man. He was great in deſerv-

ing them, but much greater in not being elated with them.

The patriotiſm of our departed friend was of the moſt ardent kind, and without alloy. He was very different from thoſe noiſy patriots, who, with love of country in their mouths and with hell in their hearts, lay their ſchemes for aggrandizing themſelves at every hazard; but he was one of thoſe, who love their country in ſincerity, and who hold themſelves bound to conſecrate all their talents to its ſervice. Numerous were the difficulties with which he had to contend. Great were the dangers he had to encounter. Various were the toils and ſervices in which he had to ſhare. But to all difficulties and dangers he roſe ſuperior; to all toils and ſervices he cheerfully ſubmitted for his country's good.

Poſſeſſing an ample, unencumbered fortune; happy at home, in the moſt pleaſing domeſtic connexions; what but love of country could have induced him to accept the command of the American army in 1775? Could it be hatred of Great-Britain? He then ardently loved her, and panted for a reconciliation with her. Could it be partiality for a military life? He was then in the forty-fourth year of his age, when a fondneſs for camps generally abates. Could it be love of fame? The whole tenor of his life forbids us to believe, that he ever was under the undue influence of this paſſion. Fame followed him, but he never purſued it. Could it have been the love of power? They who beſt knew the undiſſembled wiſhes of his heart, will all tell you with what reluctance he was dragged from a private ſtation, and with what ineffable delight he returned to it. Had he not voluntarily declined it, he would have died your Preſident. Others have reſigned high ſtations from diſguſt; but he retired at rather an early period of old age, while his faculties were ſtrong, and his health not much impaired, and when the great body of the people ſincerely loved him, and ardently wiſhed for his re-election.

Could it have been the love of money that induced him to accept the command of the American army? No ſuch thing. When he was appointed Commander in Chief, Congreſs made him a handſome allowance; but in his acceptance of the command, he declared, "that as no pecuniary conſideration could have tempted him to accept the arduous employment, at the expenſe of his domeſtic eaſe and happineſs, he did not wiſh to make any profit from it." "I will keep," ſaid he, "an exact account of my expenſes; theſe, I doubt not, you will diſcharge, and that is all I deſire." At the cloſe of the war, he produced his accounts for the eight years it had laſted, all in his own hand writing, and with the ſame exactneſs that was required of commiſſaries and contractors. The whole amounted to £.14,479 18*s*. 9*d*.$\frac{3}{4}$ ſterling. Of this ſum, about one ſeventh was for ſecret ſervices. The amount paid, the time when, and the occaſions on which monies were advanced for ſecret ſervices, were all carefully noticed; but for obvious reaſons, no receipts were produced. For every other item of the account, the moſt regular vouchers were exhibited. The whole, at the requeſt of General WASHINGTON, was minutely examined by the proper accounting officers, and regularly paſſed. A tin box, containing theſe accounts, remains in one of the offices of the United States. It is a monument of the diſintereſtedneſs of General WASHINGTON. Bring your children and your children's children to examine its contents. Shew them the hand-writing of the father of their country; teach them thereon leſſons of economy, of order and method in expenſes; teach them to love their country, and to ſerve it on liberal terms.

I call upon antiquity, upon modern Europe, and eſpecially on the recent republic of France, to produce one of their heroes or ſtateſmen, that can ſurpaſs, or even equal, our diſintereſted patriot.

Had I a voice that would reach acroſs the Atlantic, I would addreſs the nations at war, and propoſe to

their emperors, their kings, their directors, their generals, and their ſtateſmen, the example of our WASHINGTON for their imitation; and call upon them, if not too much abaſhed by the ſplendour of his virtues, to learn from him to put far away avarice and ambition; and, like him, to purſue nought but their country's good. If they would thus copy after the great example of our American hero, they would ſoon ſheath their ſwords, and let the world have peace.

But chiefly do I call on my fellow-citizens, to cheriſh the remembrance of the virtues of the dear deceaſed. To learn from him to be all eye, all ear, all heart and hand in the ſervice of your country; to think no ſacrifice too great, no labour too hard, which public good requires at your hands. Rehearſe to your children, and inſtruct them to rehearſe to theirs, the noble deeds of your common father, and inſpire them with a holy reſolution to go and do likewiſe. His great example, thus improved, will be a germ of virtuous actions through ſucceeding generations, till time ſhall be no more.

But to return. The ſame reaſoning will apply, with ſtill greater force, to General WASHINGTON'S acceptance of the office of Preſident of the United States. No motives, but thoſe of the pureſt kind, could have induced him, loaded with honours, and poſſeſſed of a reputation, that had carried his name to the remoteſt corners of the globe, to quit his beloved retirement for the ſecond time, and embark on the perilous ſea of civil life.

Where ſhall we find words ſufficient to do juſtice to his ſelf-denying acceptance of his recent appointment to the ſupreme command of the army that is now raiſing? View him in the poſſeſſion of all that his heart could wiſh; in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, when repoſe and retirement muſt have been not only deſirable, but even neceſſary. View him, under all thoſe circumſtances, pledging himſelf to take the field, whenever the ſituation of his country required it. How

ardent muſt have been his patriotiſm! How great is the loſs which we have ſuſtained!

In loſing him, our people have loſt their guide; our country has loſt its father—its ſword and ſhield—its greateſt benefactor and ornament. Rome, with all her heroes; Greece, with all her patriots, could not produce his equal. Not one, who trod the ſtage of life with equal dignity, and who departed from it in old age with a reputation ſo brilliant, and at the ſame time ſo ſpotleſs.

His virtues and example are an invaluable legacy to his country, to Europe, to the world. His counſels are engraven on the table of our hearts; his deeds are written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond. His fame is a ſea without a ſhore. His counſels, his deeds, and his fame, will live forever. But, alas! thoſe eyes, which have watched ſo many nights for the ſafety of the United States, are now cloſed in death; that tongue, and thoſe hands, which have ſo often, ſo long, and ſo ſucceſsfully been exerted for our benefit, are now mouldering in the duſt.

No more will he enlighten our councils by his wiſdom—No more will he lead our armies to victory—No longer will his name prove a bulwark of defence, by giving us one mind and one heart, and by ſtriking terror into our enemies. For theſe things, our hearts are faint; our eyes are dim and run down with water.

This day is a day of trouble and diſtreſs; a day of darkneſs and gloomineſs; a day of clouds and thick darkneſs——But I check myſelf—WASHINGTON'S worth, and our ſorrows, exceed all ſpeech. I am therefore ſilent, that we may muſe on his merits, and indulge our grief.

A Maſonic Eulogy

ON THE LIFE OF THE

ILLUSTRIOUS BROTHER GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Pronounced before the Brethren of St. *JOHN's LODGE*, on the Evening of the 4th of *February*, 5800.

AT THEIR PARTICULAR REQUEST.

BY BROTHER GEORGE BLAKE.

"Deſcription cannot ſuit itſelf in words,
To demonſtrate the life of ſuch a man." *Shakeſpeare.*

LABOUR, be at reſt! *Mirth*, let not thy voice be heard! *Joy*, our once ſweet viſitant, we have now no place for thee here! Our Lodge has become the abode of melancholy and ſorrow. *Grief*, *O, Grief!* moſt ſincerely do we welcome thee to the hall of this fraternity; thou dull, diſmal meſſenger of wo, it is thy privilege to rule our Lodge this night; from heaven's high arch art thou commiſſioned, by the weeping genius of *Maſonry*, to take charge of this her terreſtrial habitation. We acknowledge thy credentials—they are witneſſed by the ſignature of Death; we bow to thy authority—we yield to thy commands. Come, then, *Grief!* dark and gloomy ſpirit; we are now thy brothers. At this moment we are ready to induct thee to office—to inveſt thee with the black ſymbols of ſtately promotion. In the *Eaſt*, where gay light once had dominion, there ſhalt thou ſit enthroned on clouds and darkneſs: In the *Weſt*, thy faithful *Wardens* are Sadneſs and Sympathy; and as the ſun ſetteth in the *Weſt*, to cloſe the day, ſo do they ſit there to draw thy cloudy mantle over this Lodge. Dreſſed in thy moſt diſmal attire, we hail thee, *Grief*,

as the maſter of this meeting; for thy *truncheon*, we give thee the grave-man's *mattock;* on thy boſom will we faſten a beamleſs *jewel*, that is covered by the ſable veſtment of night; for thy *girdle*, thou ſhalt wear a *wandering moon-beam*, whoſe glimmering light ſhall ſerve to make more viſible the darkneſs of thy form. The *tomb-ſtone* is thy *truſſell board*, and thy *tow line* ſhall be twiſted from the fineſt chords of *Maſon's hearts*. Here then, *Grief*, we await thy commands; our *hearts*, and not our hands, will perform the joyleſs labours of the night. Our refreſhment ſhall be the cup of bitterneſs, and when we have drunken it to the dregs, our boſoms, with *three times three thouſand* pulſations, ſhall give the ſignal of our ſincerity and uniſon.

But whence, my brothers, and wherefore is all this gloom and ſtillneſs? Why is the noiſe of the buſy hammer ſuſpended, and our ears greeted only by the ſlow beatings of kindred boſoms. Why has our noon-tide *Sun* retired ſo ſoon to the dark chambers of the *Weſt?* Our Lodge, which has ſo often reſounded with the voice of induſtry and mirth, is now ſilent as the manſion of death; thoſe dazzling luminaries, which have been wont to enlighten our labours, why are they extinguiſhed? why do they now refuſe their accuſtomed radiance? The *compaſs*, the *ſquare*, the *level*, the *plumb*, and all thoſe ſparkling *jewels*, once the pride and the ornament of *Maſons*, are now concealed by a veil of blackneſs; the cheerful ſong, which has ſo often welcomed the eve of labour, has ceaſed to undulate. I hear nothing but the doleful melody of ſighs and groans. Where I have once ſeen the ſprightly features of eaſe and contentment; where I have often beheld the expanded countenance of gladneſs and hilarity; through this dubious quivering light, I can now diſcern naught but the pale ſickly viſage of melancholy and ſorrow. Need I aſk, my brothers, whence this awful change? Of our reſpected Maſter ſhall I inquire, why ſtands a tear trembling in

his eye? or of you, my friends, why every breath ſeems to travel from the lungs in pain? or why this diſmal night-ſhade is more ſuited to the preſent "*habit of your ſouls*," than the jocund aſpect of day? No! my own heart, my brothers, reſolves the myſtery. WASHINGTON! O, WASHINGTON! OUR MASTER, OUR BROTHER, OUR FATHER, OUR FRIEND, WASHINGTON IS NO MORE! He, who was greater than Hiram, better and more beloved than Solomon; he, whoſe virtues have been ſo long the example, the boaſt of our fraternity; whoſe countenance diffuſed ſplendour and brightneſs through the wide *arch of Maſonry*, has gone down in the *Weſt*, has deſcended to the ſilent manſions of the dead. That perfect *aſhlar*, which ſtood at the Eaſt corner of our *temple;* that *ſtone*, which the builders ſelected, which was wrought and poliſhed by the hand of GOD himſelf; that, on which reſted the main pillar of our *fabric*, is torn away and removed by the reſiſtleſs arm of *Death;* the ſtrength of our building is decayed; its beauty and ornament are obliterated forever; the *Grand Architect* in heaven has recalled from his embaſſy, a being, who was ſent to us, as a *light* to our deſigns, a *model* for our labours. *Pure ſpirit of Maſonry!* thy loſs is irreparable. Well mayeſt thou now make the "duſt thy paper, and with rainy tears write ſorrow on the boſom of the earth." The faireſt *column* of thy earthly *temple* is broken, the *column* on which the brighteſt features of thy character were engraven, is demoliſhed, and in the quarries of heaven alone is there a precious ſtone to ſupply its place.

Think not, my brothers, that I have felt it my duty, on the preſent occaſion, to aſſiſt you in eſtimating the magnitude of your loſs, by an attempt to diſplay all the virtues of the wonderful man, whoſe death we commemorate. Forgive me, if I touch lightly on a few lineaments of a character, whoſe aggregate is not only far beyond my powers to deſcribe; but as far beyond my faculties to comprehend. A few days only

have elapſed, ſince I was firſt invited by my brethren to aſſiſt in this ſolemn offering of grief. In this buſy, thoughtleſs, tumultuous world, I leave you to conſider, what a ſmall, very ſmall portion of our reflection is fit to be dedicated to a ſubject ſo intereſting, ſo ſublimely affecting. For myſelf, I can hardly contemplate the death of WASHINGTON without a feeling of piety and devotion; I dared not think of the event, until I had purified my mind from every ſentiment relating to the ſtale concerns of ordinary life; and to ſpeak of him, in this ſolemn Lodge, I ſhould conſider as nearly allied to blaſphemy, had I not firſt cleanſed my tongue from all the frivolous language to which it is accuſtomed.

With theſe impreſſions on my mind, few indeed muſt have been the moments I have had to prepare for this ſolemnity; but I complain not of their brevity, for *Time* himſelf could not lend me hours enough to complete the taſk. Had every minute of my leiſure been protracted to months—had every month been prolonged to years, ſtill ſhould I have been but at the beginning of a duty, ſo ſtupendous as that of recording the virtues of our illuſtrious deceaſed. Were the flight of my fancy ſwift as a ſun-beam; were the viſion of my mind ſharp as lightning in the "collied night," yet would they be ſlow in their progreſs, ſtill muſt they loiter in the rear of his glory and renown. What then, my brothers, can be expected of me, dull and feeble as I am? What can I ſay to magnify the eulogium he deſerved; to ſwell the tide of grief, that is now burſting from the hearts of his faithful, affectionate and grateful countrymen? Compared to his virtues, and the world's ſorrow for his death, all the little praiſe in my power to beſtow, is but as the tranſient night-fly's twinkle to the ſteady luſtre of the pole-ſtar—my voice as a ſigh to the whirlwind—and our united ſympathy but as a ſingle tear-drop on the billows of ocean.

Were we contemplating the character of other heroes and ſtateſmen, whom hiſtory hath celebrated, well indeed might it be ſuſpected that hypocriſy had put on for a while the vizard of grief, that cold ſenſeleſs duty had been blowing its ſtudied praiſes through the trump of hollow adulation; but on a theme like the preſent, language loſes the power to exaggerate, and even diſſimulation itſelf could hardly conjure up a pretence, that would reach in ſemblance to the height of reality. The character of WASHINGTON ſtood ſingle and alone. In him, all the qualities which conſtitute the excellence of man, however contrary in nature or repugnant in principle, were almoſt miraculouſly united and reconciled. With the ardour of his youth, was aſſociated the temperance of age; imagination was inſtructed by prudence, without being trammelled by timidity; caution guided the ſteps of raſhneſs, but fear did not retard the celerity of courage.

His firſt achievement in war was but the experiment of youth; and yet on the field of Braddock, his ſucceſs ſeemed to have reſulted alone from the ripened experience of manhood. He was then little more than a beardleſs ſtripling, the leader of an undiſciplined militia, "diſdainfully thrown in the rear" of a veteran ſoldiery; but on that memorable day, when victory had already pronounced a deciſion on the conflict, when Death, leaping from ambuſh, furious and inclement, had reached to the very middle of his ranks, and with hideous yell, was in ſwift purſuit of a diſordered and affrighted army, there did we behold our youthful hero, with calmneſs and ſerenity on his front, collected in the midſt of carnage, and undiſmayed by the horrors that ſurrounded him. Awed by his preſence, Deſtiny forgot its reſolves, and even Death himſelf, as if outgeneralled by management, abandoned in deſpair his half completed purpoſe of deſolation.

But the preſages of his youth, bold and promiſing as they were, have been more than conſummated. At an early period of life, the great properties of his mind were too reſplendent to need an interpretation from ſcrutiny, and their tendency too perſpicuous to require an aſſurance from the tongue of prophecy.

Our country was menaced by oppreſſion! *Bellona*'s ſcourge had already been tinged with the blood of our countrymen; our ſhores were ſhadowed by the floating meſſengers of deſtruction, and the very air we breathe thickened by the ſmoke of our conflagrated villages; when the voice of millions, almoſt at the ſame moment, with a kind of inſtinctive confidence, appealed for protection to the heroiſm of a WASHINGTON. At this perilous criſis, the heart of every American, like the trembling needle at the pole, reſted on him as the laſt point of its dependence. Influenced by no other excitement than the pureſt love of his country, aided by few other reſources, than the exhauſtleſs arſenal of his own great mind, at a time when bravery might have faltered, and deſpair itſelf been diſarmed of its reſolution, did he become the bold, decided champion of American liberty.

With what unſhaken firmneſs, with what unerring fidelity, he executed the fearful duties of his ſtation, it is thy buſineſs, *Hiſtory!* to pronounce to future generations; thy work is already begun, and when the ſtory is complete, it will be the largeſt, and the moſt inſtructive volume in thy archives. In vain may thy Plutarch and Polybius vaunt their Alexanders, their Hannibals, the Scipios and Ceſars; all their boaſted virtues would but ſerve as an appendix to the biography of *our* WASHINGTON. Faithful *Clio*, thou who preſideſt in the regiſtry of human tranſactions, thy book and thy trumpet, which have been wont to report the deeds of *heroic murderers*, are now required for a new and more grateful employment; before thou writeſt the name of WASHINGTON, well mayeſt thou tear from thy records, the pages on which are

inſcribed the inevitable follies and crimes of mankind—well mayeſt thou now exult, there has once lived a man, who had power without ambition, glory without arrogance, fame without infatuation; a man, who united the meekneſs of a Chriſtian, with the influence of a deſpot; a man, whoſe heart did not ſink by misfortune, and whoſe head became more ſteady by elevation; a man, who ſaved a country by his valour, and could receive its praiſes without aſſumption.

It was, my brothers, the ſentiment of a very profound writer, "that all human advantages confer more power of doing evil than good." To this opinion, founded on the degeneracy of our nature, common experience had given almoſt the authority of maxim; but the degrading principle, like almoſt every other, deduced from the frailty, the imbecility of man, was preciſely reverſed in the character of WASHINGTON. All his advantages, all his powers, extenſive as they were, and in other hands, deſtructive as they might have been, by a kind of ſupernatural agency, ſeemed to have been directed to but one and the beſt of purpoſes, the welfare of his country and the glory of his GOD.

There was a time, when, had the ambition of a Sylla been united to the power of a WASHINGTON, this fair country, which we inhabit; this favoured reſidence of liberty and peace might, perhaps, have been proſtrate at the foot of an imperious tyrant. Inſtead of greeting our illuſtrious Brother in the ſtreets, with love and the familiarity of his equals, we might have commixed with an obſequious rabble, and followed in the rear of a conqueror in triumph; inſtead of weeping at his grave in all the ſincerity of grief, we might now have been engaged in a mimic ſolemnity, a cold, unfeeling, ſlaviſh ceremonial. Was there not a time, my brothers, when he might perhaps have decimated our councils, like a Cromwell garbled our parliament, and trampled with impunity on the freedom he was commiſſioned and affected to protect?

when with a devoted, unſatisfied army at command, he could have ſpoken to us in the name of liberty, and his vacant pretenſions been received as the only pledge of our rights?

But, praiſes be to Heaven, our WASHINGTON was incorruptible by the poſſeſſion of glory, as he had been magnanimous in purſuit of his nation's independence; his exalted ſoul would have diſdained to command, when duty and honour enjoined him to obey; his valour, which had done every thing for others, had nothing to perform for the aggrandizement of himſelf. America victorious, her freedom ſecured, the commanding attitude of a General, the renowned conquering General, was, in an inſtant, converted to the humble demeanor of an obedient, unaſpiring citizen. At the altar of liberty, when he preſented the charter of independence, he alſo laid down the ſword, by which it had been reſcued. By this laſt act, the vaunting predictions of his enemies were in a moment blaſted, and the fondeſt hopes of his countrymen confirmed. He who had conquered the proudeſt nation of Europe, by a nobler achievement, had now "conquered himſelf," had vanquiſhed the frailties and infirmities of nature.

From that period, nothing remained of the ſoldier, the veteran, but the fruits of his victory, and our imperiſhable remembrance of the valour by which they were acquired. For himſelf, ſolitude and retirement were the only recompenſe he could aſk for his ſervices; but even this recompenſe, little as it ſeemed, was greater than his country had power to beſtow. Again was he wanted; his nation called; he could not refrain to liſten and obey. He who had been firſt in the field, was now required to be firſt in the councils of his country. In this elevated department, if any thing could ſurpaſs the rectitude of his conduct, it was the facility and moderation with which he afterwards reſigned the authority of his office. Power, that deluſive phantaſm, which bewilders little minds, had no charm for him; but when duty required its exerciſe

for the happineſs of mankind; at a time, when the very name of WASHINGTON had in it the force of magic; when, like a ſecret taliſman, it could harmonize the diſcord of paſſions moſt hoſtile, and reconcile the variance of principles the moſt oppoſite; at a time, when the diſſonant voices of conflicting party would have melted into uniſon, to proclaim him again the leader of our republic; at that very time, when, like Auguſtus, he could perhaps have managed his fame to perpetuate his authority, did we behold the venerable Preſident, as we had before ſeen the victorious General, deſcending with complacence to the humble occupation of an huſbandman.

His labours completed, how much more than his duties performed! our illuſtrious hero was once more permitted to enjoy in retirement the luxury of his reflections. Retirement he might have, but in the drearieſt wilds of our continent, there is not a covert, moſt hidden and inſcrutable, that could hold a being like him, a moment in obſcurity. Glory, like the pillar and the cloud, marked his progreſs by night and by day. As well might the ſun conceal his diſk behind the vapour of a dew-drop; as well might the flaming meteor travel unnoticed through the dark welkin of night, as thou, O WASHINGTON! couldſt have lived in thy country, unaccompanied by its regard and aſtoniſhment. In thy own family, at the head of thy domeſtics, thou wert not leſs conſpicuous than when leading to victory in the van of thy armies. In the view of Americans, thou wert the ſame illuſtrious being, whether they beheld you preſiding in their councils, or an unaſſuming umpire in a village diſputation; in thy hands, the meaneſt implement of a farmer was more graceful and impoſing than the ſceptre of a monarch; and in the loneliеſt vale of thy farm, thou wert as high and elevated as if perched on the ſummit of towering Alleghany; the luſtre of thy character was intrinſic, unchangeable, it could neither

be increaſed by accident, nor diminiſhed by the caſualties of ſtation.

But in his own view, the duties of a patriot were ſtill unſatisfied. All the delights of youth, the energies of manhood, the tranquillity of age, which had been ſucceſſively devoted to his country, he conſidered but as the intereſt of a debt, which time ſhould not limit, nor even death itſelf annul. Beyond the very confines of the grave, when ſenſe ſhould loſe its faculty to diſcern, and action its power to perform, it was his wiſh to continue in uſefulneſs to mankind. His contemplations, his reflections, (the very beggar's privilege) were believed by WASHINGTON to be the property of his fellow-citizens; to his country he bequeathed them. Were the inheritance diviſible, and the whole world the inheritors, each man's portion of the gift would be of more value than the wealth of Potoſi, or all the accumulated treaſures of the Indies; it is a treaſure laſting as virtue, and imperiſhable as his ſoul.

A few years only, my brothers, have elapſed, ſince in this very metropolis, our eyes, now weeping at his death, have gazed with aſtoniſhment on this wonder, this prodigy of men. Never ſhall I forget the ſolemnity, the impreſſive ſolemnity, which his preſence inſpired. Age forgot its decrepitude; youth forſook its amuſements; *Union* and *Diſcord* laid down their enmity, and flew together to behold, in reality, a being whom fame had hitherto preſented but as a picture to the imagination. (He has often ſpoken of it himſelf as the moſt affecting ſcene of his life.) I have ſtill in remembrance the awe, the love and veneration that crowded together on my mind. The gratitude of his countrymen was received with as much modeſty, "as if he had been in the act of apology for his offences." He could not ſpeak, for ſenſibility had choked expreſſion; but his countenance addreſſed us in a language more than human; in a language, by the tongue, unutterable. When he bowed, every heart that ſurrounded him, as if it had received the laſt ſalutation of a dying

man, ſunk in ſorrow and dejection. At a time when joy ſhould have rent the air with its acclamations, when every eye would have beamed with rapture, and every tongue ſpoken in the accents of gladneſs, the ſcene was ſilent and ſolemn, and ſeemed fearfully to portend the faſt approaching event which we now commemorate.

I had read of triumphal entries, of conquerors in cars; all the ſplendour of Roman and Grecian celebrations, and the noiſy ſhouts of a nation of paraſites, were familiar to my conceptions; but never, till then, had I a ſentiment of any thing ſo ſublime, as the attitude of ſuch virtue, in ſuch a triumph.

But, my friends, the circumſtances of his life, ſtrange, ſurpriſing as they were, could not be more remarkable than the ſcenes which have followed his death. More than five millions of people on our own continent, and if the tidings of death have flown on the rapid wing of his living fame, more than ten times five millions on other continents, are at this moment lamenting the ſame melancholy event which we now ſolemnize. AMERICANS, though his neareſt relatives, have not a right to monopolize an excluſive alliance with WASHINGTON. He was a MAN, the beſt friend of man; and every thing wearing the form or feature of humanity, muſt feel a pride in being called his kinſman. *Vernon!* high and lofty as thou art, thou ſecond Ararat, on which the Ark of American ſafety was lodged, every acre of our continent, as well as thy own proud hill, was reſcued and protected by his arm, and has a right to conteſt thy boaſted pre-eminence! *Virginia*, favoured ſpot of his nativity, he was not thine; thy ſiſters in the North and the South, claim a portion of his glory as their inheritance! *Columbia*, he was not thine; he was a deſcendant of Adam, and every ſon and daughter of Adam may exult that he was their *friend* and their *brother*. *Earth*, he was not thine! he was the offspring of Virtue, the favourite of Heaven; to Heaven has he aſcended—there is his *own*, his laſt, his eternal abode!!

An Oration

ON THE SUBLIME VIRTUES OF

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Pronounced in *BOSTON*, before his Honor the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, the COUNCIL, and the TWO BRANCHES of the LEGISLATURE of MASSACHUSETTS, at their Requeſt, on the 8th of *February*, 1800.

BY FISHER AMES.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind ſhould be drawn to their benefactors. A number of theſe have ſucceſſively ariſen, who were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the elevation of their virtues, than the luſtre of their talents. Of thoſe, however, who were born, and who acted through life as if they were born, not for themſelves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals of time and ſpace that divide them! In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or ſix light-houſes on as many thouſand miles of coaſt: they gleam upon the ſurrounding darkneſs with an inextinguiſhable ſplendour, like ſtars ſeen through a miſt; but they are ſeen like ſtars, to cheer, to guide, and to ſave. WASHINGTON is now added to that ſmall number. Already he attracts curioſity, like a newly diſcovered ſtar, whoſe benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's fartheſt bounds. Already his name is hung up by hiſtory, as conſpicuouſly as if it ſparkled in one of the conſtellations of the ſky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confeſs the common debt of mankind, as well as our own; and to pronounce for poſterity, now dumb, that eulo-

gium which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I conſider myſelf not merely in the midſt of the citizens of this town, or even of the State. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vaſt and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries, and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raiſe my voice, and ſpeak to mankind in a ſtrain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my ſubject. But how ſhall I expreſs emotions that are condemned to be mute, becauſe they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witneſs, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief that ſaddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow laboured for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the conſolation of other men's tears. Gracious Heaven! what conſolation! Each face was convulſed with ſorrow for the paſt; every heart ſhivered with deſpair for the future. The man who, and who alone, united all hearts, was dead—dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greateſt, and when the aſpect of the imminent public dangers ſeemed more than ever to render his aid indiſpenſable, and his loſs irreparable: irreparable; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

A grief ſo thoughtful, ſo profound, ſo mingled with tenderneſs and admiration, ſo interwoven with our national ſelf-love, ſo often revived by being diffuſed, is not to be expreſſed. You have aſſigned me a taſk that is impoſſible.

O, if I could perform it; if I could illuſtrate his principles in my diſcourſe as he diſplayed them in his life; if I could paint his virtues as he practiſed them; if I could convert the fervid enthuſiaſm of my heart into the talent to tranſmit his fame, as it ought to paſs, to poſterity; I ſhould be the ſucceſsful organ of your will, the miniſter of his virtues, and, may I dare to ſay, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. Theſe are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them.

For it is perhaps almoſt as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praiſe great actions, as to perform them. A laviſh and undiſtinguiſhing eulogium is not praiſe; and to diſcriminate ſuch excellent qualities as were characteriſtic and peculiar to him, would be to raiſe a name, as he raiſed it, above envy, above parallel—perhaps, for that very reaſon, above emulation.

Such a portraying of character, however, muſt be addreſſed to the underſtanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would ſeem to be rather an analyſis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and eſteem, than kindle enthuſiaſm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and, like a picture, flat as the canvas; like a ſtatue, cold as the marble on which he is repreſented; cold, alas! as his corpſe in the ground. Ah! how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the ſoul once glowing with patriotic fires! He is gone! The tomb hides all that the world could ſcarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country; and his example; *that* let us endeavour, by delineating, to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, Wiſdom in her treaſury.

Peace then to your ſorrows. I have done with them. Deep as your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I deſire leſs to give utterance to the feelings of this age, than to the judgment of the next. Let us faithfully repreſent the illuſtrious dead, as hiſtory will paint, as poſterity will behold him.

With whatever fidelity I might execute this taſk, I know that ſome would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our WASHINGTON repreſented of a giant's ſize, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reaſon, would not be ſatisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unleſs, in the exhibition, it ſhould be ſo diſtorted into prodigy, as to be both in-

credible and uſeleſs. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even WASHINGTON ſhould think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the ſearch for mean and ſelfiſh motives, that could incite and ſuſtain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not theſe ſuggeſtions ſound in your ears like a profanation of virtue? and, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a ſtrict ſcrutiny. The world, in paſſing the judgment that is never to be reverſed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of WASHINGTON. Let it be denied; for its juſtice will confer glory.

Such a life as WASHINGTON'S cannot derive honour from the circumſtances of birth and education, though it throws back a luſtre upon both. With an inquiſitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by paſſions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparalleled in youth. Perhaps no young man had ſo early laid up a life's ſtock of materials for ſolid reflection, or ſettled ſo ſoon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience liſtened to his counſels with reſpect; and at a time when youth is almoſt privileged to be raſh, Virginia committed the ſafety of her frontier, and ultimately the ſafety of America, not merely to his valour, for that would be ſcarcely praiſe; but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambuſhes, the ſuddenneſs of his onſet, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The ſoul of WASHINGTON was thus exerciſed to danger; and on the firſt trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adverſity, cool in action, undaunted, ſelf-poſſeſſed. His ſpirit, and ſtill more his prudence, on the occaſion of Braddock's defeat, diffuſed his name

throughout America, and acroſs the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her moſt hopeful ſon.

At the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in conſequence of her victories, ſtood in a poſition to preſcribe her own terms. She choſe, perhaps, better for us than for herſelf: for, by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hoſtile neighbours; and we ſoon found juſt cauſe to be afraid of our protectors. We diſcerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has ſince ſo ſtrongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak States can give, that will ſatisfy ſtrong allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have maſters. Our ſettlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increaſed; and it was diſcovered, that America was growing to a ſize that could defend itſelf.

In this, perhaps unforeſeen, but at length obvious ſtate of things, the Britiſh government conceived a jealouſy of the Colonies, of which, and of their intended meaſures of precaution, they made no ſecret.

Thus it happened, that their foreſight of the evil aggravated its ſymptoms and accelerated its progreſs. The coloniſts perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection, and reſolved that they would not be governed by force. Nobly reſolved! for had we ſubmitted to the Britiſh claims of right, we ſhould have had, if any, leſs than our ancient liberty, and held what might have been left by a worſe tenure.

Our nation, like its great leader, had only to take counſel from its courage. When WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in diſtreſs, his obedience was prompt; and though his ſacrifices were great, they coſt him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our hiſtory is but a tranſcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear teſtimony, that they are claims not to be ſatisfied.

When overmatched by numbers ; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful ſoldiers ; the States as much exhauſted as diſmayed ; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there reſources to retrieve our affairs. We have ſeen him diſplay as much valour as gives fame to heroes, and as conſummate prudence as inſures ſucceſs to valour ; fearleſs of dangers that were perſonal to him ; heſitating and cautious, when they affected his country ; preferring fame before ſafety or repoſe, and duty before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius, than America to WASHINGTON. Our nation ſhares with him the ſingular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildneſs, and a revolution with order.

The event of that war ſeemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its Chief. Until that conteſt, a great part of the civilized world had been ſurpriſingly ignorant of the force and character, and almoſt of the exiſtence, of the Britiſh Colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curioſity to know the ſtate of thirteen wretched ſettlements, which vaſt woods incloſed, and ſtill vaſter woods divided from each other. They did not view the coloniſts ſo much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and ſolitude, and intermixture with the ſavages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they ſaw, was elate with her victories : Europe ſtood in awe of her power : her arms made the thrones of the moſt powerful unſteady, and diſturbed the tranquillity of their States, with an agitation more extenſive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to ſhake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hoſtility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies : in the wilds of Africa, it obſtructed the commerce in ſlaves. The whales, finding, in time of war, a reſpite from their purſuers, could venture to ſport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, ſuddenly, aſtoniſhed Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, ſtand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was ſo unequal, all expected it would be ſhort. The events of that war were ſo many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final ſucceſs exalted their admiration to its higheſt point. They allowed to WASHINGTON all that is due to tranſcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They conſidered us a race of WASHINGTONS, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and diſtorting all their repreſentations, aſſiſted to eſtabliſh the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practiſe induſtry amidſt the abundance that requires none; that we have morals ſo refined, that we do not need laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to conſider their execution as an inſult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weakneſſes, ſentiment without paſſions, and liberty without factions. Theſe illuſions, in ſpite of their abſurdity, and, perhaps, becauſe they are abſurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents againſt the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illuſions are too ſoothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans. They have been pernicious, as they cheriſh falſe ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty where it is not, and to conſider the government, which is its caſtle, as its priſon.

WASHINGTON retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their ſimplicity and their paſſions, and their glory ſoon departed. Europe began to be undeceived; and it ſeemed for a time, as if, by the acquiſition of

independence, our citizens were diſappointed. The Confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to eſtabliſh juſtice, to inſure the tranquillity, and provide for the ſecurity, of the nation;" and accordingly, union was a name that ſtill commanded reverence, though not obedience. The ſyſtem called juſtice was, in ſome of the States, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquillity was ſuch a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the exploſion of an earthquake. Moſt of the States then were, in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reaſon, it is true, ſpoke audibly in their Conſtitutions; paſſion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honour of Maſſachuſetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the cauſes of a dangerous rebellion. It was ſcarcely poſſible that ſuch governments ſhould not be agitated by parties, and that prevailing parties ſhould not be vindictive and unjuſt. Accordingly, in ſome of the States, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be perſecutors; and, by the ſhock of all confidence and faith, ſociety was ſhaken to its foundations. Liberty we had; but we dreaded its abuſe almoſt as much as its loſs; and the wiſe, who deplored the one, clearly foreſaw the other.

The States were alſo becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impoſt, was for years levied by ſome of the commercial States upon their neighbours. Meaſures of retaliation were reſorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the reſentments, whoſe never-failing progreſs among States, is more injuſtice, vengeance, and war.

The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already ſharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three ſeparate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progreſs of licentiouſneſs would have ſoon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them. An age of blood and

miſery would have puniſhed our diſunion. But theſe were not the conſiderations to deter ambition from its purpoſe, while there were ſo many circumſtances in our political ſituation to favour it.

At this awful criſis, which all the wiſe ſo much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retroſpect, ſo much more dreadful than their fears; ſome man was wanting, who poſſeſſed a commanding power over the popular paſſions, but over whom thoſe paſſions had no power. That man was WASHINGTON.

His name, at the head of ſuch a liſt of worthies as would reflect honour on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almoſt all the well-diſpoſed among the leſs informed citizens, and, bleſſed be God! the Conſtitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honour of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in ſpite of the obſtacles which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age of *this*, would have been inſurmountable; in ſpite of the doubts and fears, which well-meaning prejudice creates for itſelf, and which party ſo artfully inflames into ſtubbornneſs; in ſpite of the vice, which it has ſubjected to reſtraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in ſpite of the oligarchies in ſome of the States, from whom it ſnatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happineſs: invaluable! if the retroſpect of the dangers we have eſcaped, ſhall ſufficiently inculcate the principles we have ſo tardily eſtabliſhed. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without ſuffering much to deepen the impreſſion: for experience brandiſhes in her ſchool a whip of ſcorpions, and teaches nations her ſummary leſſons of wiſdom by the ſcars and wounds of their adverſity.

The amendments which have been projected in ſome of the States ſhew, that in them at leaſt, theſe leſſons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of States, ſome powerful, others weak, the weakneſs of the

Federal Union will, ſooner or later, encourage, and will not reſtrain, the ambition and injuſtice of the members. The weak can no otherwiſe be ſtrong or ſafe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect, which the blind jealouſy of the weak States not unfrequently contributes to prolong, that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever exiſted.

Although it was impoſſible that ſuch merit as WASHINGTON's ſhould not produce envy, it was ſcarcely poſſible that, with ſuch a tranſcendent reputation, he ſhould have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimouſly choſen Preſident of the United States.

As a general and a patriot, the meaſure of his glory was already full: there was no fame left for him to excel but his own; and even that taſk, the mightieſt of all his labours, his civil magiſtracy has accompliſhed.

No ſooner did the new government begin its auſpicious courſe, than order ſeemed to ariſe out of confuſion. The governments of Europe had ſeen the old Confederation ſinking, ſqualid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American Republic riſe ſuddenly from the ground, and, throwing off its grave clothes, exhibiting the ſtature and proportions of a young giant, refreſhed with ſleep. Commerce and induſtry awoke, and were cheerful at their labours; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of proſperity; and the only fear was, that its progreſs was too rapid, to conſiſt with the purity and ſimplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labours of the Preſident were inceſſant: his exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public ſervice: able officers were ſelected, only for their merits; and ſome of them remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſucceſsful management of the public buſineſs. Government was adminiſtered with ſuch integrity, without myſtery, and in ſo proſperous a courſe, that it ſeemed to be wholly employed in acts

of beneficence. Though it has made many thouſand malecontents, it has never, by its rigour or injuſtice, made one man wretched.

Such was the ſtate of public affairs: and did it not ſeem perfectly to inſure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? did they not, in reſpect to their government and its adminiſtration, poſſeſs their whole heart's deſire? They had ſeen and ſuffered long the want of an efficient conſtitution: they had freely ratified it: they ſaw WASHINGTON, their tried friend, the father of his country, inveſted with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Conſider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: ſuch as no man ever before poſſeſſed by ſo clear a title, and in ſo high a degree. His fame ſeemed in its purity to exceed even its brightneſs: office took honour from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition ſtood awed and darkened by his ſhadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man ſo vain as to diſpute precedence with him? or what were the honours that could make the poſſeſſor WASHINGTON's ſuperior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the groſs could diſcern in his life the infinite ſuperiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived ſome change in their ideas of greatneſs: the ſplendour of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that WASHINGTON could augment his fame; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

This is not exaggeration: never was confidence in a man and a chief magiſtrate more widely diffuſed, or more ſolidly eſtabliſhed.

If it had been in the nature of man that we ſhould enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under theſe circumſtances, to expect it: but it was impoſſible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will

ſeem ſtrange, but it ſcarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free ſtate in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no conteſts, and are not anxious to know how they ſhall uſe it. The ſpirit of diſcontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and ſighs itſelf to reſt. The people ſleep ſoundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They loſe their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animals: a ſtate of degradation, in which they extort our ſcorn, and engage our pity, for the miſery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a baſe one, and fit only for a ſlave's boſom, that would not bleed freely, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a condition; for liberty, with all its parties and agitations, is more deſirable than ſlavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once ſubſiſted in its exceſs, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and gliſtening to the laſt with the blaze of the very fire that conſumed it?

I do not know that I ought, but I am ſure that I do, prefer thoſe republics to the dozing ſlavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have ſuffered ſcorn till they merit it, where they tread on claſſic ground, on the aſhes of heroes and patriots, unconſcious of their anceſtry, ignorant of the nature, and almoſt of the name of liberty, and inſenſible even to the paſſion for it. Who, on this contraſt, can forbear to ſay, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that ſleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkiſh darkneſs? It is the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is ſtill bright with glory, ſtill freſh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a leſs exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that thoſe who profeſs to be its moſt paſſionate admirers have, generally, the leaſt comprehenſion of its hazards and impediments: they expect that an enthuſiaſtic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irkſomeneſs of its reſtraints. Deluſive

expectation! WASHINGTON was not thus deluded. We have his ſolemn warning againſt the often fatal propenſities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often falſe to their country and their honour, falſe to duty and even to their intereſt; but multitudes of men are never long falſe or deaf to their paſſions; theſe will find obſtacles in the laws, aſſociates in party. The fellowſhips thus formed are more intimate, and impoſe commands more imperious, than thoſe of ſociety.

Thus party forms a ſtate within the ſtate, and is animated by a rivalſhip, fear, and hatred, of its ſuperior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become freſh provocations and offences; for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that as ſoon as party found the virtue and glory of WASHINGTON were obſtacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to ſurmount them both. For this, the greateſt of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government muſt poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This interior ſtrength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unleſs it could be reinforced from without by the zeal and patriotiſm of the citizens; and this latter reſource was certainly as acceſſible to Preſident WASHINGTON, as to any chief magiſtrate that ever lived. The life of the Federal Government, he conſidered, was in the breath of the people's noſtrils: whenever they ſhould happen to be ſo infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end muſt be as ſpeedy, and might be as tragical, as a conſtitution for France.

* While the Preſident was thus adminiſtering the government, in ſo wiſe and juſt a manner, as to engage

* The Government of Maſſachuſetts has manifeſted more than once, and ſo lately as the laſt year, a wiſe diſcernment of the pernicious tendency of certain uſurping claims by States, and of changes propoſed to aboliſh, under the name of amending, the Conſtitution.

The example has had its proper weight to produce, in other States, a like zealous and prompt ſupport of the National Government.

Long may ſuch patriotic zeal continue, and ever may its efforts obtain a like ſucceſs!

the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its ſupport, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progreſs, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occaſion, detain you to expreſs, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its deſpotiſm, by the mob or the military, from the firſt, and its hypocriſy of morals to the laſt. Scenes have paſſed there which exceed deſcription, and which, for other reaſons, I will not attempt to deſcribe; for it would not be poſſible, even at this diſtance of time, and with the ſea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving horror gather, like a froſt, about the heart, and almoſt ſtop its pulſe. That revolution has been conſtant in nothing but its viciſſitudes, and its promiſes; always deluſive but always renewed, to eſtabliſh philoſophy by crimes, and liberty by the ſword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a ſoldier's helmet: and, with all their imitation of dictators and conſuls, their exacteſt ſimilitude to theſe Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another reſemblance, in their all-conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the meaſures of the Preſident, that belongs to my ſubject. It would be ingratefully wrong to his character to be ſilent in reſpect to a part of it, which has the moſt ſignally illuſtrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that revolution is not even yet ſo well underſtood as the dictates of ſelf-preſervation require it ſhould be. The chief duty and care of all governments is to protect the rights of property, and the tranquillity of ſociety. The leaders of the French revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor againſt the rich: this has made the rich poor,

but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were uſed only as blind inſtruments to make thoſe leaders maſters, firſt of the adverſe party, and then of the ſtate. Thus the powers of the ſtate were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preſerve tranquillity and reſtrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and ſtill is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ſhip, and if any right or poſſeſſion has eſcaped confiſcation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well ordered ſociety. It is a danger, ſimilar in its kind, and at leaſt equal in degree, to that, with which ancient Rome menaced her enemies. The allies of Rome were ſlaves; and it coſt ſome hundred years efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can truſt no better to treaties; they cannot even truſt to arms, unleſs they are uſed with a ſpirit and perſeverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the firſt, hoſtile to all right and juſtice, to all peace and order in ſociety; and, therefore, its very exiſtence has been a ſtate of warfare againſt the civilized world, and moſt of all againſt free and orderly republics. For ſuch are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of deſtruction. Accordingly, ſcarcely any but republics have they ſubverted. Such governments, by ſhewing in practice what republican liberty *is*, detect French impoſture, and ſhew what their pretexts are *not*.

To ſubvert them, therefore, they had, beſides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greateſt obſtacles into their moſt efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be ſurpriſed, that the French and their partizans inſtantly conceived the deſire, and made the moſt powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? But it will hereafter ſeem ſtrange that their exceſſes ſhould be excuſed, as the effects of a ſtruggle for liberty, and that ſo many of our citizens ſhould be flattered, while they were inſulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles purſued. Nothing was ever more falſe, or more faſcinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the diſperſion of our people on farms, and on the almoſt equal diffuſion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whoſe authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all theſe produce on public opinion, before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is reſtraint, *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning ſun of our ſummer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the ſun, when his rays dart peſtilence on the ſands of Africa. American liberty calms and reſtrains the licentious paſſions, like an angel that ſays to the winds and troubled ſeas, Be ſtill. But how has French licentiouſneſs appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, repreſent her as a monſter, with eyes that flaſh wild-fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that ſhakes the foundation of the hills? She ſtands, and her ambition meaſures the earth; ſhe ſpeaks, and an epidemic fury ſeizes the nations.

Experience is loſt upon us, if we deny, that it had ſeized a large part of the American nation. It is as ſober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people, we have paſſions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulſe, which, for a time, miſled us.

Jacobiniſm had become here, as in France, rather a ſect than a party; inſpiring a fanaticiſm that was equal-

ly intolerant and contagious. The deluſion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority without proof; and jealous enough to exact acquieſcence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progreſs was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them nothing ſeemed amiable, but the revolutionary juſtice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and juſtice of America. The very name of Patriots was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party diſcerned its intimate connexion of intereſt with France, and conſummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

The views of theſe allies required that this country ſhould engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing leſs would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: nothing leſs would inſure the ſubjection of America, as a ſatellite to the ambition of France: nothing elſe could make a revolution here perfectly inevitable.

For this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the moment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated paſſions ſhould be in fuſion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and conſume the peace and government of our country.

The ſyſtematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were ſucceſſively purſued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be ſoon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worſt of evils in this worſt of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the States, amendments were propoſed to break down the Federal Senate, which, as in the State governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary power was claimed for States. In another State, a rebellion was fomented by the agent

of France: and who, without freſh indignation, can remember, that the powers of Government were openly uſurped; troops levied, and ſhips fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our Government conſider without dread, that, ſoon afterwards, the treaty making power was boldly challenged for a branch of the government, from which the Conſtitution has wiſely withholden it.

I am oppreſſed, and know not how to proceed with my ſubject—WASHINGTON, bleſſed be GOD! who endued him with wiſdom and clothed him with power—WASHINGTON iſſued his proclamation of neutrality, and, at an early period, arreſted the intrigues of France and the paſſions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

This act of firmneſs, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the firſt of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good ſenſe, and they ſoon recovered them. The criſis was paſſed, and America was ſaved.

You and I, moſt reſpected fellow-citizens, ſhould be ſooner tired than ſatisfied in recounting the particulars of this illuſtrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he adminiſtered the Government, how much greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the chief military command under his wife and upright ſucceſſor, how his life was unſpotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are ſo many diſtinct ſubjects of inſtruction, and each of them ſingly more than enough for an elogium. I leave the taſk, however, to hiſtory and to poſterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impoſſible, that ſome will affect to conſider the honours paid to this great patriot by the nation, as exceſſive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I anſwer, that refuſing to virtue its legitimate honours would not prevent their being laviſhed, in future, on any worthleſs and ambitious favourite. If this day's example ſhould have its natural

effect, it will be ſalutary. Let ſuch honours be ſo conferred only when, in future, they ſhall be ſo merited: then the public ſentiment will not be miſled, nor the principles of a juſt equality corrupted. The beſt evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all WASHINGTON's before us. There has ſcarcely appeared a really great man, whoſe character has been more admired in his life time, or leſs correctly underſtood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no eaſy taſk to delineate its excellencies in ſuch a manner, as to give to the portrait both intereſt and reſemblance. For it requires thought and ſtudy to underſtand the true ground of the ſuperiority of his character over many others, whom he reſembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the ſteadineſs of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the ſame maxims. Theſe maxims, though wiſe, were yet not ſo remarkable for their wiſdom, as for their authority over his life: for if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he diſcovered as few as any man) we know of no blemiſhes in his virtue. He was the patriot without reproach: he loved his country well enough to hold his ſucceſs in ſerving it an ample recompenſe. Thus far ſelf-love and love of country coincided: but when his country needed ſacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did not even heſitate. This was virtue in its moſt exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reaſon to think it would be ſacrificed, at leaſt in this age. Two inſtances cannot be denied: when the army was diſbanded; and again, when he ſtood, like LEONIDAS at the paſs of Thermopylæ, to defend our independence againſt France.

It is indeed almoſt as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of virtue. The reaſons are ſimilar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obſcure, becauſe

they are complex, and we are obliged to reſort to illuſtrations. WASHINGTON's example is the happieſt to ſhew what virtue is; and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue: much muſt be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not ſo much to be ſeen in the diſplay of any one virtue, as in the poſſeſſion of them all, and in the practice of the moſt difficult. Hereafter therefore his character muſt be ſtudied before it will be ſtriking; and then it will be admitted as a model; a precious one to a free republic!

It is no leſs difficult to ſpeak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being miſled by them. In this he was certainly ſuperior, that he neither miſtook nor miſapplied his own. His great modeſty and reſerve would have concealed them, if great occaſions had not called them forth; and then, as he never ſpoke from the affectation to ſhine, nor acted from any ſiniſter motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatneſs and extent. In public truſts, where men, acting conſpicuouſly, are cautious, and in thoſe private concerns, where few conceal or reſiſt their weakneſſes, WASHINGTON was uniformly great; purſuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were ſuch, as aſſiſt a ſound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was conſummate, and ſeemed to take the direction of his powers and paſſions; for, as a ſoldier, he was more ſolicitous to avoid miſtakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant; and as a ſtateſman, to adhere to juſt principles, however old, than to purſue novelties; and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were ſingularly adapted to the intereſt, and were tried in the greateſt perils, of the country. His habits of inquiry were ſo far remarkable, that he was never ſatisfied with inveſtigating, nor deſiſted from it, ſo long as he had leſs than all the

light that he could obtain upon a ſubject; and then he made his deciſion without bias.

This command over the partialities that ſo generally ſtop men ſhort, or turn them aſide, in their purſuit of truth, is one of the chief cauſes of his unwearied courſe of right conduct in ſo many difficult ſcenes, where every human actor muſt be preſumed to err.

If he had ſtrong paſſions, he had learned to ſubdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weakneſſes, he concealed them, which is rare; and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is ſtill more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed is of the kind that will laſt forever; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future Plutarch will ſearch for a parallel to his character. Epaminondas is perhaps the brighteſt name of all antiquity. Our WASHINGTON reſembled him in the purity and ardour of his patriotiſm; and like him, he firſt exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends: for Thebes fell with Epaminondas. But ſuch compariſons cannot be purſued far, without departing from the ſimilitude. For we ſhall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts: others, for the majeſtic ſilence and fullneſs of their ſtreams: we cannot bring them together to meaſure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of WASHINGTON, declining fame, yet courted by it, ſeemed, like the Ohio, to chooſe its long way through ſolitudes, diffuſing fertility; or like his own Potowmac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the ſea, and diſplaying moſt the uſefulneſs and ſerenity of his greatneſs towards the end of his courſe. Such a citizen would do honour to any country. The conſtant veneration and affection of

his country will ſhew, that it was worthy of ſuch a citizen.

However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magiſtracy, that his example will inſtruct them. Great Generals have ariſen in all ages of the world, and perhaps moſt in thoſe of deſpotiſm and darkneſs. In times of violence and convulſion, they riſe, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the ſtorm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a ſplendour, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing viſible but the darkneſs. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: they multiply in every long war: they ſtand in hiſtory, and thicken in their ranks, almoſt as undiſtinguiſhed as their own ſoldiers.

But ſuch a chief magiſtrate as WASHINGTON, appears like the pole ſtar in a clear ſky, to direct the ſkilful ſtateſman. His preſidency will form an epoch, and be diſtinguiſhed as the age of WASHINGTON. Already it aſſumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its alloted portion of the hemiſphere. The lateſt generations of men will ſurvey, through the teleſcope of hiſtory, the ſpace where ſo many virtues blend their rays, and delight to ſeparate them into groups and diſtinct virtues. As the beſt illuſtration of them, the living monument, to which the firſt of patriots would have choſen to conſign his fame, it is my earneſt prayer to Heaven, that our country may ſubſiſt, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happineſs, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON'S.

An Eulogy

ON THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND SERVICES

OF BROTHER GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced before the Fraternity of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, by Requeſt of the GRAND LODGE, at *BOSTON*, *February* 11, 1800.

BY BROTHER TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

The *caſſia* ſhall forever bloom o'er his head; for he hath gone down cloudleſs in the *Weſt*, "ripe in years and full of glory."

BRETHREN OF THE MASONIC FRATERNITY, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THIS RESPECTABLE AUDIENCE,

THOUGH ſilence be juſtly conſidered the language of grief, yet it is equivocal. Hypocriſy or indifference may aſſume it. On great occaſions, therefore, it becomes a duty to vindicate our feelings, though it be impoſſible fully to expreſs them. Highly laudable then is the conduct of our generous nation, at the preſent mournful criſis. While all claſſes of our fellow-citizens, obedient to the injunctions, and imitating the example of Congreſs, are pouring forth their ſorrows, and recounting the virtues of the deceaſed WASHINGTON; while the great and good of other nations are mingling their regrets with the lamentations of his afflicted countrymen—ſhall the Maſonic Fraternity be ſilent? Suppreſs their grief they cannot; and ſhall they attempt to conceal it? No, my brethren, he had a double claim to our attachment; and we will dwell on his memory with peculiar affection. If our departed brother yet takes an intereſt in what paſſes upon earth; if his bleſt ſhade ſtill hovers over the country which he protected and loved, may we not hope that our tribute of reſpect will be acceptable; that our united plaudit may even

touch his immortal ſoul with pleaſure? A hope like this would ſoften our pangs, and dart a ray of comfort through the gloom of affliction which ſurrounds us. But ah, how unlike are our preſent emotions, at beſt, to thoſe we have been wont to indulge on the returns of this anniverſary! Long have we been accuſtomed to hail it with joy, and regard it as the era of Heaven's peculiar favour to our country. Blind to futurity, we have fondly hoped that he would yet continue many years; that he would long defend us with his ſword, and bleſs us with his counſels; that he would glide gently down the declivity of life, majeſtic as ſome mighty river, and late, very late, ſink in the ocean of eternity. So long ſhall we deplore his apparently untimely departure. So long will this returning day call forth the mingled emotions of joy and mourning. But future times will again regard it as auſpicious. Our remoteſt poſterity, inheriting our freedom and independence, and that happy Conſtitution which alone can ſecure them, will never be unmindful of the Maſter, who preſided at the building of the fair fabric of political glory, or forget that on this day WASHINGTON was born.

When we ſee a whole nation of freemen in tears, diſconſolate for the death of a fellow-citizen, what words can ſwell his panegyric? Indeed, the people of the United States exhibit a ſpectacle that is ſcarcely to be paralleled in the annals of mankind. Nations, it is true, have often aſſumed the garb of ſorrow, and pompouſly diſplayed the emblems of grief for the death of emperors or kings. But it was when obedience, perhaps reluctant, was yielded to the orders of a ſucceſſor; or when, for reaſons of ſtate, mourning was eſtabliſhed by laws. Under ſuch circumſtances, appearances may be deceptive: but, on our happy ſhores, we fear no tyrant frown; we need nothing extraneous to prompt our ſighs; our ſorrows are the ſpontaneous effuſion of grateful hearts; they demonſtrate our reſpect to be ſincere; and are ſcarce leſs

honourable to the nation than to the memory of him whoſe death they deplore. Still more ſtriking is another view of this intereſting ſcene. Rarely has the world done juſtice to the merit of the great, while living: it has often ungenerouſly perſecuted its beſt benefactors, or ſuffered them to pine in the gloom of neglect. Socrates, though a luminary to his own and future times, in ſcience and in virtue, was condemned by his infatuated countrymen to death. Beliſarius, who conquered a kingdom for his maſter, was ſuffered ignominiouſly to beg his bread.* Columbus, who gave a new world to mankind, was loaded with chains, and purſued with inſatiate rancour to his grave. Americans are more juſt: while the great WASHINGTON was yet alive, they knew how to appreciate the mighty bleſſing. Let us exult in the remembrance that they long ſince hailed him the FIRST OF MEN; that they twice inveſted him with the chief command of their armies; that with their unanimous ſuffrages they twice raiſed him to the dignity of ſupreme magiſtracy; that their united acclamations and fervent bleſſings followed him in his repeated retirement from office; that he lived in honour, and died in glory. Yes, they even claim from his family a right to ſhare their afflictions; with them to mourn their deceaſed father, to plant the cypreſs on his grave, and water it with their tears. Heaven ſurely approves this conduct: Heaven will continue to diſtinguiſh a people duly ſenſible of their bleſſings.

Voluminous would be a detail of all the meritorious actions, or even of the great achievements of our departed friend. To recount his heroic deeds, would be but to recite the hiſtory of his country, while he was in the field; would be but to repeat what thouſands have already told, what many of you, my auditors, have perſonally witneſſed, what even his vanquiſhed enemies

* Though the truth of this anecdote be queſtioned by writers of eminence, it is nevertheleſs ſupported by good authorities of ancient date; and it is agreed by all, that Beliſarius was at one time unjuſtly deprived both of his honours and eſtates.

have publiſhed to the world. O that we could analyze his mighty mind; that we could aſcertain the elements of this ſplendid luminary in the moral world; that we could with unerring eye trace on the intellectual map the path which he purſued to immortal happineſs and fame!

It has not unfrequently happened, that the poſſeſſion of a ſingle eſtimable talent in a high degree has rendered an individual an object of admiration to mankind. The military proweſs of Alexander, beſides ſubjecting the world to his dominion, procured him the title of *Great;* and in the opinion of a ſuperſtitious age, enrolled him among the gods. Solon and Lycurgus acquired immortal renown for their wiſdom as legiſlators. Nobility was conſidered a poor reward for Chatham's merit as a ſtateſman. Sully has been juſtly celebrated for cultivating the arts of peace. Theſe talents all centered in our great countryman, without their kindred vices, raſhneſs, ſeverity, pride or ſupineneſs.

Judging the conduct of others by the inadequate ſtandard formed in their own narrow minds, there were not wanting thoſe, who, at one time, dared even to queſtion his ability for the command of our revolutionary army. The Fabian policy, which induced him to avoid a deciſive engagement with the invading enemy, at that time drew upon him an ill-judged imputation of timidity and indeciſion. But the illuſion was tranſitory. It was ſoon perceived that the error was in the optics of his accuſers; that the miſt of ignorance which had enveloped them, had never obſcured the ſunſhine of intelligence which conſtantly beamed on him. This very conduct is now univerſally acknowledged to be among the moſt deciſive proofs of his greatneſs; without which, the iſſue of the conteſt, if not ruinous to our country, would at beſt have been extremely problematical. His penetration taught him that his countrymen were daily becoming more formidable, by experience in diſcipline

and the duties of the camp; by habits of danger and an increaſing knowledge of the art of war; while none of theſe advantages attached to their enemies. Remote from the ſource of ſupplies, their ſubſiſtence was precarious; and the waſte of troops, neceſſarily occaſioned by the caſualties of war, was repaired with difficulty. To them, therefore, delay was defeat. Regardleſs of the miſtaken or invidious ſuggeſtions which his prudence might draw upon him, he diſcerned the path of ſafety for his country, and ſteadily purſued it. It is ſtrange that at that period his courage or his conduct could have been diſtruſted. Previous to that, at a time when the clouds of deſpondency overſpread our hemiſphere with their deepeſt ſhade, when deſpair had almoſt loſt her energy, he had in perſon, with a handful of troops, gallantly ſurpriſed, defeated, and captured a numerous enemy at Trenton; and, eluding the vigilance of an army ſufficiently powerful to have cruſhed him, again aſtoniſhed his adverſaries by the brilliant victory at Princeton. On that memorable occaſion, he at one moment exhibited a ſpectacle anxiouſly intereſting to his companions in arms. From the neceſſity of rallying a diſordered part of his troops, he intrepidly placed himſelf in their front, and led them on to the charge. More eager to repair their diſgrace, than attentive to the peril of his perſonal ſituation, they raſhly renewed the engagement while he was at their head; and thus he was for ſome time expoſed to the fire of both the contending armies.

But whatever ungenerous ſurmiſes might at any time have been indulged by the heedleſs or envious, the voice of murmuring had been ſilenced before the victory at Monmouth. After that event, he was the object of uninterrupted confidence to his country, and of terror to her foes; till, by annihilating the power of the invaders by the ſplendid reduction of Yorktown, he put a glorious period to the war; and the admiring world pronounced his character as a General conſummate!

Having finiſhed his military career, and entered on the tranquil ſcenes of retirement, for which he had a peculiar fondneſs, it ſeemed generally to be thought that his public life was finiſhed. As yet, however, he had executed but in part Heaven's high commiſſion. Few, perhaps, had hitherto perceived in him that univerſality of mind, which has enabled him ſucceſſively to adorn every ſtation he has filled. Modeſt and unaſſuming in his deportment, he never indulged in a pompous diſplay of talents unimportant to the duties before him; but unfolding them as exigencies required, he was always equal to the occaſion. When the deſerved partiality of the electors in his native State delegated him to the General Convention, and the reſpect of that body placed him in their chair, he there diſcovered the qualities of a great legiſlator, and eminently contributed to the production of that inſtrument, which is juſtly conſidered a model of political wiſdom, and which, we truſt, will long ſecure that liberty which his valour had achieved.

As a ſtateſman he was yet untried. But gratitude for his ſervices, reſpect for his character, and confidence in his integrity, impelled his fellow-citizens, with one conſent, to elevate him to the dignity of Preſident. As if this had been his peculiar province, he here ſhone with unrivalled luſtre. His adminiſtration was a ſatire on thoſe who are born to rule. Making the general good the ſole object of his purſuit, and carefully diſtinguiſhing the attention which was due from him as an individual to the claims of relation and friendſhip, from the duties he owed to the public, he never yielded to the influence of private partiality, nor ſtooped to the low policy of aggrandizing his family by the gifts of office. He beſtowed employments on thoſe only, who added to integrity the qualities neceſſary to diſcharge them. Patient in inveſtigation, and cautious in reſearch, he formed his reſolutions with deliberation, and executed them with deciſion. Conſcious of the purity of his motives, and ſatisfied with the propriety

of his determinations; duly eſtimating alſo the ſacred duty of maintaining the conſtitutional rights of his office, he was not to be ſoothed into diſhonourable compliance by the blandiſhments of flattery, nor diverted from his purpoſes by the terror of numbers, or the impoſing weight of public character. When a revolution, unprecedented in its kind, had involved the European world in confuſion, and the flame of war was ſpreading into other quarters of the globe, neither the inſidious attempts of the emiſſaries of France, nor the treacherous arts of her American adherents, could induce him to hazard our quiet. Though himſelf a ſoldier, and equal to the emergencies of war, he perceived not only that the true intereſts of his country, but juſtice and humanity enjoined a continuance of peace. He therefore wiſely adjuſted the miſunderſtandings which threatened our tranquillity, and reſolved on a ſtrict neutrality. Our own experience, and the events which have ſince tranſpired in other countries, have fully juſtified the meaſure. Yet, ſtrange to tell, diſappointed faction deſpairing of ſucceſs in an impeachment of his diſcernment or underſtanding, has dared here to arraign the purity of his motives. Circumſtances ſeem to have placed him beyond the reach of ſuſpicion. His wealth was more than ſufficient for all the purpoſes of ſplendid enjoyment; he had no poſterity to inherit hereditary honours; and he was ſurely too wiſe not to know that a crown would tarniſh his glory; that his own reputation was inſeparably connected with the proſperity of his country; that his fame would mount no higher than her eagle could ſoar. What more than he poſſeſſed, could ambition pant for? What further had the world to beſtow? Where then are theſe accuſers, theſe ſelf-imagined models of perfection, who can ſhow us where WASHINGTON was wrong, where they would have conducted with more wiſdom and integrity? Do they too join the general acclamations, or are they ſilent? If there are thoſe upon earth who renounce all

pretenſions to morality, who diſclaim the obligations of gratitude, who dare even refuſe to aſcribe glory to GOD, (and we have too much evidence of the melancholy fact) can a mortal expect juſtice from them? But how tranſcendent muſt be that greatneſs, which either extorts applauſe from its enemies, or awes them into ſilence!

About to relinquiſh the toils of his arduous ſtation, and retire once more to that domeſtic repoſe which he had left with reluctance, and which his declining years now ſeemed to require, he could not cloſe his public life without an act peculiarly appropriate to his character, and which fully demonſtrates that ardent attachment to his country, which governed all his conduct. His farewell advice diſcloſes an intimate knowledge of the internal concerns, foreign relations, preſent and future intereſts of the United States, ſufficient of itſelf to have entitled its author to fame. But when it is conſidered as the reſult of an intelligence adequate to the ſubject, as the fruit of perſonal experience matured by profound meditation, and in which no motive could have operated but the welfare and glory of the nation, we may ſafely pronounce it an oracle of political truth; a palladium, which, while carefully preſerved, will perpetuate our union and independence; an amulet, which, if conſtantly improved, will render the body politic invulnerable, we might almoſt ſay immortal.

In WASHINGTON occurred a union rarely to be found, of greatneſs and goodneſs. Courage, wiſdom, and magnanimity, thoſe eminent qualities, which embrace the whole community in their operation, were not thoſe only which diſtinguiſhed his character. He was equally remarkable for the leſs ſplendid, though not leſs amiable virtues, which more immediately reſpected himſelf, his family, and friends. However the abundance of his means, or his long and familiar intercourſe with the world might have expoſed him to

temptation, he preſerved his morals not only pure, but even unſullied by the breath of ſuſpicion. However the applauſe of mankind, and the wealth and honours which Fortune, no longer blind, beſtowed on him with a liberal hand, might have attached him to the world, he never forgot that he was mortal, and deſtined to another ſtate of exiſtence. In him religion was a ſteady principle of action. It not only taught him fortitude in danger, and patience under misfortunes, but inſtructed him in the yet harder leſſon of moderation, of even humility in the full ſwell of proſperity. How often does hiſtory inform us of commanders, tranſported with the tide of ſucceſs, and grown giddy in its eddies, forgetting their dependence, and arrogating even divine honours! As a counterpart to this, our annals may record the concluding paſſage of the general orders, publiſhed on the ſurrender of Yorktown. "Divine ſervice ſhall be performed to-morrow, in the different brigades and diviſions. The Commander in Chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do aſſiſt at it with a ſerious deportment, and that ſenſibility of heart, which the recollection of the ſurpriſing and particular interpoſition of Providence in our favour, claims."

That WASHINGTON was affectionate and endearing in his conjugal relation, the anguiſh of his widowed wife ſufficiently evinces: and no language can do ſo much juſtice to her ſenſibility, as her own affecting anſwer to the condolence of Congreſs, and her more recent return of thanks for thoſe expreſſions of ſympathy, which you, my reſpected brethren, thought it your duty to communicate to her. That he was compaſſionate and humane, is honourably told by the tears of his diſconſolate domeſtics. That he was benevolent, his emancipated ſlaves will long remember, and even their poſterity acknowledge with gratitude. How amiable, how conſiſtent is the character of this illuſtrious man! Himſelf the champion of political freedom, he diſdained to hold his fellow-creatures in abject domeſ-

tic ſervitude. An advocate for mild and equal laws, he diſclaimed the right of unlimited control over the actions of others. Not ſatisfied with barely reſtoring to them that freedom, of which, in common with their countrymen, a cruel policy had deprived them, but yielding to the claims of juſtice, though unaided by law, he gave them in a freehold the hire that had not been ſtipulated, and bleſt them at once with competency and independence. Highly honourable would it be to our fellow-citizens in the South, if this magnanimous example ſhould have its proper effect; if, in their treatment of the wretches ſubjected to their power, they would emulate the benevolence of WASHINGTON; if, obedient like him to the voice of humanity, juſtice and religion, they would abandon the ſavage claim of holding human beings in ſlavery, and repeal every ſtatute in their code, which countenances a principle ſo derogatory to the laws of freemen.

Having already contemplated ſuch a variety of diſtinguiſhing features in this great and amiable character, does it ſtill admit of addition? Is there room in the portrait for another trace of the faithful pencil, that will increaſe its beauty? Yes, my brethren, to us another and no leſs intereſting view remains. Animated with a generous philanthropy, our deceaſed Brother early ſought admiſſion into our ancient and honourable fraternity, at once to enable him to cheriſh with advantage this heavenly principle, and enlarge the ſphere of its operation. He cultivated our art with ſedulous attention, and never loſt an opportunity of advancing the intereſt or promoting the honour of the *craft*. While Commander in Chief of the American revolutionary army, he countenanced the eſtabliſhment and encouraged the labours of a travelling Lodge among the military. He wiſely conſidered it as a ſchool of urbanity, well calculated to diffeminate thoſe mild virtues of the heart, ſo ornamental to the human character, and ſo peculiarly uſeful to correct the ferocity of ſoldiers, and alleviate the miſeries of war. The cares

of his high office engroſſed too much of his time to admit of his engaging in the duties of the chair; yet he found frequent opportunities to viſit the Lodge, and thought it no derogation from his dignity there to ſtand on a *level* with the brethren. True to our principles on all occaſions, an incident once occurred, which enabled him to diſplay their influence to his foes. A body of American troops, in ſome ſucceſsful rencounter with the enemy, poſſeſſed themſelves, among other booty, of the jewels and furniture of a Britiſh travelling Lodge of Maſons. This property was directed by the Commander in Chief to be returned under a flag of truce to its former proprietors, accompanied with a meſſage, purporting that the Americans did not make war upon inſtitutions of benevolence.

Of his attachment to our order in general, you, my reſpected brethren of the Moſt Worſhipful Grand Lodge of this Commonwealth, have had perſonal knowledge. His anſwers to your repeated addreſſes, breathe throughout the ſpirit of brotherly love; and his affectionate return of thanks for the Book of Conſtitutions, which you preſented him, and for the honour, as he was pleaſed to conſider it, which you did him in the dedication, muſt be evidence highly ſatisfactory of the reſpectful eſtimation in which he held you. The information received from our brethren, who had the happineſs to be members of the Lodge over which he preſided many years, and of which he died the Maſter, furniſhes abundant proof of his perſevering zeal for the proſperity of the inſtitution. Conſtant and punctual in his attendance, ſcrupulous in his obſervance of the regulations of the Lodge, and ſolicitous at all times to communicate light and inſtruction, he diſcharged the duties of the chair with uncommon dignity and intelligence in all the myſteries of our art. Nothing can more highly conduce to the proſperity and honour of Maſonry, than a ſucceſsful imitation of this bright example. It cannot fail of its effect upon our brethren in its immediate neighbour-

hood in the ſouth; they will beautify their column. And ſhall we be outdone in zeal? Placed geographically in the Eaſt, in a quarter of the Union from which the nation has been accuſtomed to learn wiſdom, it ſhould be our peculiar care to diffuſe light through the temple of Maſonry. As it is known that we ſhared largely in the eſteem and affection of our deceaſed brother, it is eaſy to perceive that our good conduct will itſelf be an encomium on his memory. We ſee before us, among the ſad emblems of mortality, not only the ſword which in this neighbourhood he drew in defence of his country, but alſo the very attire which he has often worn as a Maſon. How devoutly is it to be wiſhed, that theſe ſtriking memorials may ſtimulate us to a noble emulation; that, like the mantle of Elijah, they may inſpire us with an unalterable attachment to virtue and benevolence! This day witneſſes to the world in what veneration we hold the memory of departed greatneſs: let not the ſolemnity be without its appropriate effect upon ourſelves. While with funeral pomp and Maſonic honours, we celebrate the obſequies of our deceaſed brother, while we bend with anguiſh over the urn which contains a part of what was mortal in him,* let us like him remember, that we are animated with a heavenly flame, which the chill damps of death cannot extinguiſh; like him reſolve to *ſquare* our actions by the *rules* of *rectitude*, perſevere in the *line* of our duty, and reſtrain our paſſions within the *compaſs* of propriety, knowing that the *all-ſeeing eye* of our *Supreme Grand Maſter* above continually obſerves us: that when we ſhall have performed the *taſk* aſſigned us here, we may, like him, be *called from our work to the refreſhments* which alone can ſatisfy our immortal deſires: that when we put off this earthly *clothing*, we may be arrayed with the garments of glory, put on the *jewels* of light, and ſhine forever in the ſublime *arch* above.

* A lock of General WASHINGTON's hair was depoſited in the urn borne in the Maſonic funeral proceſſion on this occaſion.

An Eulogy

ON GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *BOSTON, February* 19, 1800, before the AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, by their Appointment.

BY JOHN DAVIS,
Member of the Academy, and of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society.

IN common inſtances of mortality, when a father or a friend returns to duſt, we do not take our final adieu, though the funeral rites be accompliſhed. Grief firſt admits, then invites conſolation, from converſing on the lives of the deceaſed: a recapitulation of their virtues and of their meritorious actions is like Oſſian's muſic, at once "pleaſant and mournful to the ſoul."

When the father of his country; when a nation's friend deſcends to the grave, it is fit that public commemorations ſhould mingle with private condolence: that we ſhould frequently call to view his revered image, and repeat our votive honours to him, who was never weary in contributing to our happineſs.

With ſuch impreſſions, my literary fathers and friends, you have appointed this ſolemn meeting; with ſuch impreſſions only, could I prevail upon myſelf to attempt the taſk, which it has been your pleaſure to aſſign to me.

Death has frequently taken a diſtinguiſhed victim from the circle of your aſſociation. You have mourned the loſs of the venerable BOWDOIN, your revered preſident, your liberal patron, the friend and promoter of all that was excellent and pure: the public ſpirited, the munificent HANCOCK: the claſſical, eloquent COOPER: CLARKE, in whom ſhone forth all the beauties of

holineſs, whoſe pious lips were "wet with Caſtalian dews:" BELKNAP, learned, devout, and unaffected, worthy of being the biographer of WASHINGTON: SUMNER, the cheriſhed ornament of the Commonwealth: to theſe, and many more of your beloved and reſpected aſſociates you have bidden a ſad farewell: they are removed from your pleaſant meetings to the cold and ſilent manſions of the grave. This day you lament the loſs of one, who was not indeed an attendant at your literary interviews; but who was ſtill moſt dear: whoſe benign and happy influences travelled to their object, unimpeded by diſtance, like the mild and ſteady beams of planetary light.

"Thou ſleepeſt the ſleep of death, but we are not unmindful of thee, O Achilles: in life and in death, thou art equally the object of our regard and veneration." Thus ſang the Grecian bard, to ſoothe the ſhade of a hero: with like affectionate reverence, with pious ſenſibilities, do we cheriſh thy memory, departed WASHINGTON, and pay repeated viſits to thy tomb.

In contemplating a life, whoſe maturer portion was ſo ſingularly ſplendent, we are naturally prompted to look back to its commencement. Correſponding to that conſiſtency of character, by which he was diſtinguiſhed, marks of ſuperiority are imprinted on the very threſhold of his days.

In the early dawn of manhood, delicate and important public duties were committed to his charge. Then appeared ſome of thoſe heroic virtues, that preſaged his future greatneſs. Unſhaken fortitude, firm perſeverance, and ſound diſcretion. Behold the intrepid meſſenger purſuing his weary way through a pathleſs wilderneſs. The aſſaults of the ſavage do not intimidate him: the ſeverities of winter do not arreſt his progreſs. He returns in ſafety and in honour: though Gallic artifice ſtrewed his way with thorns: though the waters of the Alleghany had well nigh extinguiſhed his valued life, when their impetuous current rolled

over his youthful head.* Illuſtrious man! then, as in all thy life, the conſcious ſatisfaction reſulting from a faithful diſcharge of duty, was thy ſufficient, thy beſt reward: but how might it have cheered thy exalted ſpirit to have known, that far beyond the limits of thy long and arduous journey ſhould extend an empire, which ſhould acknowledge thee, as the moſt diſtinguiſhed inſtrument of its eſtabliſhment!

The ſame memorable ground next becomes the theatre of his military achievements; and at the early age of twenty-ſeven, he has attracted the admiration of his country, and retired to his beloved reſidence, with public teſtimonials of their approbation and regard.

Agricultural employments, domeſtic endearments, and the diſcharge of civic truſts dignify and adorn the next fifteen years of his intereſting life. But not theſe alone. In that calm interval, when common minds might have been corrupted by indulgence, or benumbed with ſatiety, the ſuperior mind of WASHINGTON was improving under the wholeſome regimen of ſyſtematic diſcipline. Faithful to the high obligations of truth and duty, faithful to himſelf, he ſtudied the various relations, that bind the man and the citizen, and, in the ſhade of peace and retirement, preſcribed to himſelf thoſe rules and maxims of conduct, on which was reared the lofty edifice of his fame.

With correct and extenſive views of the rights and intereſts of his country; with lively ſenſibilities, when they were invaded or endangered, he had a juſt title to the high honour of convening with that illuſtrious band of patriots and civilians, who compoſed the firſt national Council of United America. By that Council, faithful and intelligent, deeply impreſſed with the mighty intereſts intruſted to their care, and well apprized that the fate of their country depended on their choice, he is unanimouſly appointed to command the feeble armies of an oppreſſed people, againſt the veteran arms of the firſt European power. He ſuffers himſelf to be

* See his Journal, publiſhed in the Maſſachuſetts Magazine, 1789.

advanced to that "painful pre-eminence," though his ſtrong and comprehenſive mind could not have been unmindful of the vaſt "ſea of troubles," on which he was embarking.

With a leſs correct ſenſe of public duty, he might have urged many claims to avoid the ponderous taſk; and in a dubious conteſt, multitudes from political opinion, and many, from an indulgent regard to an opulent and diſtinguiſhed citizen, would have dignified the cautious deciſion with the name of wiſdom. He liſtens to no ſuch unworthy ſuggeſtion. He takes counſel with himſelf—He obeys the call of his country—He haſtens to the ſcene of action; and at no period, perhaps, does his conduct appear more elevated and intereſting, than at that impreſſive moment, when he placed himſelf at the head of his applauded band of undiſciplined huſbandmen, on yonder claſſic plains.

The purity and magnanimity, manifeſted by the acceptance of that arduous truſt, taught his admiring country to expect, with firm reliance, that, with thoſe hopeful pledges, were aſſociated all the protecting train of martial and of manly virtues.

Thoſe animating hopes were completely realized. Modelled by his great example, the camp became a ſchool of virtue, as well as of military ſcience. There were ſeen unſhaken fidelity; unſullied honour; humane and ſocial ſympathies; pure love of country; reſpect for the magiſtracy, and reverence for the laws. He ſuſtained the ſtandard of American Liberty with energies ſuited to her character: tempering authority with mildneſs, bravery with diſcretion.—Intrepid in danger, clement in victory, undiſmayed by diſaſter, he bore the precious depoſit through a long and perilous conflict, animated by the applauſes of a grateful country and the admiration of the world.

The eventful occurrences, that developed his talents and his virtues, are too deeply impreſſed upon the memory of thoſe whom I addreſs, to require a repetition.

They were ſtrongly aſſociated with all you held moſt dear. Revolving years, life's multiplied concerns, a long and happy participation of ſucceeding peace and proſperity, have not effaced them from your remembrance. And ye, ingenuous youth, whoſe exiſtence commenced in the AGE of WASHINGTON, who have ſeen only his ſetting ſun, in the mirror of hiſtory you will behold the bright reflection of his meridian beams. You will learn of your revered ſires, how they were animated by their benign and cheering influence. Aſk of thoſe who bare you: they will tell you, how his guardian form diſpelled diſtreſſing terrors, and protected by his arm, with what calm complacence they watched your infant ſlumbers.

The elevated ſentiments and the expanded views, which inſpired the mind of every active citizen, during the memorable conteſt for liberty and independence, were not ſatisfied with the firm purſuit, or the aſſured proſpect of thoſe intereſting objects. During a ſtruggle for political exiſtence, you ſtudied the liberal embelliſhments of a ſtate, and like Pliny on Veſuvius, attended to the purſuits of ſcience, undiſmayed by the thunder and the ſtorm, by which you were aſſailed. This literary eſtabliſhment was a child of the revolution. Europe beheld it with admiration. The friends of America contemplated it with delight. They conſidered it as affording renewed evidence, that you were reſolved on the attainment of freedom, and were worthy of its enjoyment.

The illuſtrious man, whoſe loſs we now deplore, was among the firſt of your elected aſſociates. It was a time of multiplied calamities. The military operations of the enemy were to be oppoſed in five different States of the Union. A mind occupied with ſuch immenſe concerns, could not be expected to apply itſelf to the immediate objects of your inſtitution. Yet he accepts your invitation; looking forward, doubtleſs, to the happier days, when the arts of peace ſhould ſucceed the horrors of war. As the firſt among the pub-

lic characters of the age; as the pride and defence of your country, he was entitled to the earlieſt and moſt reſpectful expreſſions of your attention: but he was your aſſociate by ſtill more appropriate characters, by diſpoſitions and accompliſhments, altogether congenial to the nature and end of your inſtitution.

It is among the declared objects of your inquiry, to examine the various ſoils of the country, to aſcertain their natural growths and the different methods of culture: to promote and encourage agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce: to cultivate the knowledge of the natural hiſtory of the country, and to determine the uſes, to which its various productions may be applied.

Purſuits of this nature always commanded his attention, and to ſome of them he was peculiarly attached. They were frequently the topic of his converſation, and the ſubject of his correſpondence, with ingenious and public ſpirited men, in different parts of the world.

With a mind well fitted to acquire juſt conceptions on any ſubject, to which his attention was directed, he would, I am perſuaded, have been diſtinguiſhed in the abſtruſer branches of ſcience, if the courſe of life, which he had choſen, or to which he was impelled, had not been incompatible with the purſuit. In patient inveſtigation, unwearied aſſiduity, and ſyſtematic arrangement, he was excelled by none. The uniform ſucceſs, which attended his operations in military and political life, evinces great ſolidity of judgment: and he, who could produce ſuch correct and proſperous reſults, in the great affairs of a nation, ſo liable to be defeated or impeded, by the ever varying humours and prejudices of men, with like application, might have been equally diſtinguiſhed in the ſteady regions of ſcience, whoſe permanent relations and connected truths, never fail to diſcloſe themſelves to induſtrious reſearch and attentive contemplation.

But though a man of contemplative habits, he was ſtill more fitted for action. It became neceſſary for the

repoſe and happineſs of his country, that he ſhould leave *the aſylum of his declining years*. Obedient to that voice, which he could never hear but with *veneration and love*, he exchanges a retreat which he had choſen with the *fondeſt predilection*, for the anxieties and toils of political elevation. How was he honoured in the midſt of the people, in coming forth from the ſhades of his retirement. "He was as the morning ſtar in the midſt of a cloud; and as the moon at the full; as the *ſun*, ſhining upon the temple of the MOST HIGH; and as the rainbow, giving light in the bright cloud."*

The duties of an employment, which is accepted with reluctance, are frequently diſcharged with ſymptoms of wearineſs or diſguſt: but he engaged in the multiplied labours of his new and arduous ſtation, as if it were the fond object of his choice; and though enjoying a weight of character, which would peculiarly facilitate his meaſures, yet he diſcovered a laudable ſolicitude, that they ſhould poſſeſs an intrinſic propriety, and conducted himſelf with as much caution and circumſpection, as if he were for the firſt time a candidate for public favour.

The intereſting objects of his care, and their direct and intimate connexion with the ſolid intereſt and permanent welfare of his country were indeed congenial to the beſt wiſhes of his heart, and fitted to relieve the unavoidable ſolicitudes of his ſtation. To regard with comprehenſive and equal eye the great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts over which he preſided: to ſettle pure and ſolid foundations of national policy, conſiſtent with the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven has ordained: to eſtabliſh public credit: to revive mutual confidence: to introduce with the native tribes on the frontiers, a ſyſtem, correſponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy: to provide for the national ſecurity, by ſuitable military eſtabliſhments: to found the ſafety of the United States, on the baſis of ſyſtematic and ſolid arrangement: to guard

* Eccleſiaſticus.

againſt infractions of the laws of nations: to maintain a friendly intercourſe with foreign powers: to exhibit that ſtability and wiſdom in the public councils, which ſhould be a juſt ground of public confidence: to adopt meaſures for the accompliſhment of *our* duties to the reſt of the world, and create a capacity of exacting from them the diſcharge of *their duties* towards us: to maintain to the United States their due rank among the nations of the earth: to vindicate the majeſty of the laws, againſt violence and inſurrection: to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of the Conſtitution: to extinguiſh the cauſes of external differences, on terms compatible with national rights and national honour: to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderneſs, which national juſtice, dignity and ſafety might permit, and to exemplify the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes, which might win the affections of its citizens and command the reſpect of the world.*—Theſe were the momentous purſuits, which occupied his elevated mind, and engaged his warmeſt affections: for theſe purpoſes, he invited the aid and co-operation of the enlightened councils of the Union; and in ſpite of the petulance of oppoſition, or the effuſions of faction, his proſperous country and its grateful inhabitants, will teſtify that they have been accompliſhed.

With views and occupations, ſo comprehenſive and elevated, he did not loſe ſight of *Learning* and of the *Arts*. "There is nothing," ſaid he, (in his addreſs to the firſt Congreſs) "that can better deſerve your attentive patronage, than the promotion of ſcience and literature. Knowledge is, in every country, the ſureſt baſis of public happineſs. In *one*, in which the meaſures of government receive their impreſſion ſo immediately from the ſenſe of the community, it is proportionably eſſential." To the Truſtees and Faculty of

* See WASHINGTON's ſpeeches to Congreſs, from which the above ſummary of his preſidential purſuits is ſelected, with little variation from his own impreſſive language.

the Univerſity of Pennſylvania, in reply to their reſpectful addreſs, he acknowledges himſelf gratified *in being conſidered, by the patrons of literature, as one of their number;* being *fully apprized of the influence which ſound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty and laws;* and expreſſing his confidence that *the ſame unremitting exertions, which under all the blaſting ſtorms of war, cauſed the arts and ſciences to flouriſh in America, would bring them nearer to maturity, when invigorated by the milder rays of peace.* To the Univerſity of Harvard, he communicates *his ſincere ſatisfaction in learning the flouriſhing ſtate of their literary republic. Unacquainted,* he adds, *with the expreſſion of ſentiments which I do not feel, you will do me juſtice in believing, confidently, in my diſpoſition to promote the intereſts of ſcience and true religion.*

His cloſing addreſs to Congreſs is enriched with like paternal ſentiments; and at a more ſolemn moment, when completing the laſt arrangement of his terreſtrial concerns, he makes careful proviſion for a literary eſtabliſhment which he had before emphatically recommended; appropriating to the inſtitution of a National Univerſity a very liberal donation, which his native State, as an expreſſion of their grateful ſenſe of his ſervices, had placed at his diſpoſal.

Theſe expreſſions of his ſentiments and views indicate the character, which he would probably prefer to ſuſtain. Not merely that of a warrior, or ſtateſman; but as the enlightened friend of man, and all his beſt enjoyments: the advocate of religion: the ſupporter of virtue: and, to adopt the language of your charter, the cultivator or patron of "every art and ſcience which may tend to advance the intereſt, dignity and happineſs of a free, independent and virtuous people."

The artiſt who executed the ſtatue which adorns the capital of Virginia, had juſt conceptions of the moſt appropriate character and attitude. Its ſimple *coſtume*, is well adapted to deſignate the founder and defender of

American liberty: the protector of agriculture: the representative of a happy and peaceful nation.

It would require little aid from the imagination, to render the significant emblem of your society an apt memorial of your late illustrious associate. Let Minerva, with the spear and shield, represent his venerable form. The implements of husbandry, the hill crowned with oaks, and the field of native grain, indicate his favourite employment. The rising city, the instruments of philosophy, the approaching ship, and the sun above the cloud, are lively images of the benign and happy influence of his life, on commerce and the arts, and the advancing greatness of his country.

While contemplating the character of WASHINGTON, in a literary point of view, I must not omit to consider his style. It is distinguished for purity, propriety, and precision; and some of the most correct philologists have pronounced, that most of the qualities of a good style are united in his compositions. In his letters he is plain: in his public addresses elegant: in all he is correct, expressing in a small compass his clear conceptions, without tiresome verbosity, or any parade of ornament. In attending to what has fallen from his pen, the connexion between modes of thinking and writing; between character and composition is apparent. His writings are marked with the strong and pleasing features of sincerity, simplicity and dignity.

It is the complaint of Livy, that eulogies, though an useful incitement to great and virtuous actions, tend to corrupt the truth of history. In this regard I have no apprehensions. I have ascribed no excellencies to the elevated character, which I have attempted to sketch, that you are not witnesses he possessed: but I sensibly feel, how imperfect will be the picture, which I shall have exhibited. With great sincerity, shall I adopt the *suspensive inscription* of the Grecian artists, expressing that they were employed in the execution of such a statue or picture, rather than that they had in any degree finished it.*

* Harris's Hermes.

An admired writer, ſpeaking of the caſual reſemblances of perſons and things, obſerves that in the revolution of ages, the wheels of fortune, will after a long interval run in the ſame track. I addreſs myſelf to men, to whom the tranſactions of paſt ages are familiar, who have been accuſtomed to examine and to eſtimate the ſplendid characters that have attracted the attention of the world. Permit me to inquire if you have found the man, who in merit and in fame, in all the genuine ingredients of true glory and ſolid happineſs, can be compared with our lamented Chief.

That raſhneſs and exceſs, which tarniſh the fame of *Macedonia's Madman and the Swede*, appear in many of the heroes of ancient and modern ſtory. Some unworthy propenſity, or ſome unhappy error is perceived amidſt all the effulgence of their glory. Pompey could win the affections of the ſenate and the people of Rome, by diſbanding his victorious armies and reaſſuming the humble air and deportment of a private citizen: but he could alſo deſcend to corrupt the people with money; to employ the vileſt citizens to embarraſs the magiſtrates in the execution of their functions, that his interpoſition might be rendered neceſſary by commotion: verifying the juſtice of the remark, that he could not reſolve to uſurp power, but would have been glad to have had it tendered to him as a gift.*

The celebrated reign of the philoſophic emperor Marcus Antoninus is clouded by the indiſcreet adoption of Commodus, and his too great indulgence of the infamous Fauſtina; by the elevation of her lovers to poſts of honour; by decreeing her deification, and requiring the youth of Rome to pay their vows before her altars.

To the firſt Peter of Ruſſia, the title of Great has been more permanent, than in moſt inſtances, in which it has been aſſumed or beſtowed: but we are ſhocked at the recorded inſtances of his cruelties, and he is

* Monteſq.; Grand. & Decad. &c.

quoted by a celebrated theoriſt,* to exemplify the exiſtence of public ſpirit, without the ſpirit of humanity.

Victor Amadeus, with apparent magnanimity, reſigned his crown to his ſon, and ſought the placid enjoyments of privacy and retreat. But his retirement became irkſome to him: he languiſhed for the re-enjoyment of power, caballed againſt his ſon and ended his days in a priſon.

A Louis XIV. and a Frederic, with all the ſplendour of their lives, died without exciting any regrets: and a Marlborough, famed for his conſummate prudence, as well as for his military achievements, was accuſed of the meanneſs of avarice, and of protracting a ſanguinary war for the enlargement of property and power.

If I were to ſelect the character, among the great men of antiquity, exhibiting the neareſt reſemblance to WASHINGTON, it would be Timoleon; memorable for the defence and deliverance of Sicily, from external and internal foes; for the eſtabliſhment of civility and order; and for the quiet enjoyment, to a revered and honourable old age, of the rewards of his virtuous labours, in the boſom of a grateful people. To that degree did he enjoy the affection of the Sicilians, ſays his biographer, that no war ſeemed concluded, no laws enacted, no political regulation made in a proper manner, unleſs reviſed and touched by him. He was the maſter-builder who put the laſt hand to the work, and beſtowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection; though at that time Greece boaſted a number of great men, whoſe achievements were highly diſtinguiſhed. Timotheus, Ageſilaus, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, (the laſt of whom Timeleon principally vied with in the race of glory) yet in this they differ from Timoleon, that we diſcover in their actions a certain labour and effort which diminiſhes their luſtre, and ſome of them afforded room for cenſure, and were followed by repentance or remorſe.

* Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments.

His trophies coſt his fellow-citizens no tears, nor put any of them in mourning; and yet, in leſs than eight years he delivered Sicily from its inteſtine miſeries and diſtempers, and reſtored it to the native inhabitants. His military labours finiſhed, he returned to Syracuſe, and laid down his command; excuſing himſelf to the people from any further ſervice, as he had brought their affairs to a happy concluſion. His old age was cheriſhed as that of a common father. He died of a ſlight illneſs, co-operating with length of years. His funeral was attended by many thouſands of men and women, crowned with garlands, and clothed in white. The lamentations mingled with the praiſes of the deceaſed, evinced that the honours paid him was not a matter of courſe, or in compliance with a duty enjoined, but the teſtimony of real ſorrow and ſincere affection.*

In this deſcription, the analogy, which I have ſuggeſted, is apparent. In other particulars, there is no reſemblance. Timoleon was a foreigner in Sicily. WASHINGTON had the ſupreme ſatisfaction of imbibing and diſplaying all his virtues and talents, in his own beloved country. As if to exemplify his own ſage reflections upon the inexpediency of foreign education and accompliſhments for an American citizen, he like

> "The tall maſt that bears our flag on high,
> "Grew in OUR SOIL and ripen'd in OUR SKY."†

Timoleon was long wretched, if not guilty in the death of his brother, and was a prey to ſorrow and remorſe for the ſpace of twenty years. No baleful domeſtic occurrence darkened the days of WASHINGTON. Troubles and anxieties, inſeparable from the cup of life, doubtleſs aſſailed him; but thoſe he ſuſtained with dignity and equanimity.

Timoleon was cenſurable in cauſing the condemnation and the death of the wife and daughter of Icetas.

The tender ſympathies of humanity were always cheriſhed in the breaſt of WASHINGTON; and in a

* Plutarch's Life of Timoleon.
† J. Allen's Poems.

war peculiarly tending to kindle and inflame the human paſſions, he is chargeable with no inſtance of cruelty or revenge.

Timoleon was blind and helpleſs in his old age, and the reſpect with which he was regarded was mingled with pity; reminding us of Lucan's image of an aged tree, caſting a ſhade only by its trunk. The declining years of WASHINGTON were without apparent decay. He ſeemed like the mountain oak; and to the laſt, we looked for ſhelter beneath its branches, againſt the impending ſtorm.

In ſtudying the character of WASHINGTON, we cannot refrain inquiring, by what principles or motives he was thus uniformly ſwayed to the practice of virtue and the ſteady purſuit of excellence. Much doubtleſs was due to his habitual reſpect for the approbation and eſteem of his fellow-citizens: and in attributing the formation of his character and fame, in any degree, to this ſource, we pay a juſt tribute to his countrymen, a tribute, which he was ever prompt to beſtow. It was owing to their *ſteady and ſtrenuous ſupport*, he acknowledges, that he did not *ſink under the oppreſſion* which occaſionally aſſailed him. "Poſterity," ſaid he, "will regard with admiration and gratitude the patience, perſeverance, and valour, which achieved our revolution: they will cheriſh the remembrance of virtues, which had but few parallels in former times, and which will add new luſtre to the moſt ſplendid pages of hiſtory."* On ſuch expreſſions, he appears to dwell with delight. Thus did Pyrrhus acknowledge his obligations to the Epirots, when honoured by them with the name of the Eagle. *If I am an Eagle*, ſaid he, *it is upon your arms—upon your wings that I have riſen.*

To this motive was added that delicate and refined MORAL SENSE, which is the guardian and protectreſs of all the virtues: which forbids committing any thing baſe or unworthy; any thing unbecoming the dignity

* Anſwer to the people of South-Carolina, 1790.

of man, a due reverence for himſelf, and the rank he holds in the ſcale of rational beings.

But above all, he was influenced by the more permanent and operative principle of religion: by the firm and active perſuaſion of an ALL-SEEING, ALL-POWERFUL DEITY: by the high conſciouſneſs of future accountability, and the aſſured hope and proſpect of immortality. Contraſting his ſublime example, founded on ſuch a baſis, with the tribe of infidel heroes, who have lately appeared on the bloody theatre of Europe, we cannot but apply the impreſſive language of a ſober and intelligent heathen. "Earthquakes, lightning, ſtorms and torrents have an amazing power: but as for Juſtice nothing participates of *that*, without thinking and reaſoning upon GOD."

Sound ſcience will ever be found promotive of rational religion and the ſolid intereſts of the Commonwealth: but there is a *leproſy of falſe knowledge*, which is akin to impiety, and ſaps the compacted fabric of ſocial order. It is thus in the political ſyſtem. The mild and lovely form of *true liberty*, is oppoſed by a harlot bluſtering counterfeit.

It is the pride of this Society, it is the glory and felicity of the Nation, to have at their head A MAN, to whom the knowledge and the practice of the *good* and the *true* are perfectly familiar: whom no falſe theories can delude, no deceptive inticements ſeduce, no demons of miſchief diſmay.

Under ſuch auſpices, you will walk ſafely and ſucceſsfully: preferring the ſober paths of practicable good to the brilliant allurements of ſeductive unſubſtantial novelties: adhering to old and approved truths, while indulging in new inquiries: ſolicitous for improvement, but ſtill retaining a juſt reverence for the approved maxims of ancient prudence. Let us hope that the caſual abuſes of ſcience, or the eccentricities of ſome of its profeſſors, will not impede its cultivation and encouragement. Falſe philoſophy is indeed the deceitful

Delilah which will enervate and corrupt the ſtrongeſt eſtabliſhments, and deliver them nerveleſs, and reſiſtleſs, to the *Philiſtines of Infidelity*, the Lords of Anarchy and Miſrule: but ſound Science, with rational Religion, will be the firm ſupporters of the Magiſtracy to the lateſt time; as Aaron and Hur ſuſtained the hand of Moſes, *until the going down of the ſun.*

A Funeral Eulogy

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Delivered *February* 22, 1800, before the NEW-YORK STATE SOCIETY of the CINCINNATI.

BY WILLIAM LINN, D. D.

THIS ſolemn aſſembly and theſe ſable enſigns proclaim no common grief. Already has every American wept; already have the ſad funereal proceſſions moved; and already have the virtues and the ſervices of WASHINGTON been celebrated from the pulpit, and from the roſtrum.

Why are we again aſſembled? And why is the tomb uncovered? It is that we may all take another look. This is the birth-day of the beloved man. Was there no other which could have been choſen than that on which we have ſo frequently rejoiced? It is kindly intended to give indulgence to our ſorrow, to teach us that no character is exempt from the ſtroke of death, and eſpecially to induce our ſubmiſſion to the will, and our adoration of that Almighty BEING who "gave and who hath taken away."

We find from the earlieſt records of time, that the practice has been uſual in all ages and in all nations, of honouring thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their excellence, and were eſteemed public bleſſings. Trophies have been decreed to them while living, and at their deceaſe, their bodies have been ſometimes embalmed; monuments, elegies, and funeral orations have perpetuated the memory of their honourable deeds.

This has a happy tendency to inſure a noble and virtuous conduct, and to excite the imitation of others. The love of fame, when ſubordinate to the general good of mankind, is inſeparable from him who is truly

great; and he carries his views beyond the grave to the reward which poſterity ſhall beſtow. Were there then no other reaſon for praiſing the illuſtrious dead, this would be ſufficient.

But there is an obligation of ſtill higher moment. Eminent men are qualified for their work by GOD. They are his ſervants. In honouring them, we honour him. It is true that the heathen glorified not GOD, but ſubſtituted creatures in his room; and there is danger that even we, with the cleareſt revelation, may be guilty of idolatry in not lifting up our hearts to Him from whom "cometh down every good gift, and every perfect gift." Let us aſcribe the glory to GOD, and we may ſafely extol the man whoſe loſs this day we deplore.

America claims as her own, one who was juſtly the admiration of the world. And ſhall ſhe be ſilent in his praiſe? Perhaps ſilence would have beſt expreſſed the merits of him who is beyond all eulogy. The language of mortals can with difficulty, if ever, reach ſo noble a theme. The name is above what Grecian or Roman ſtory preſents, and it would require more than Grecian or Roman eloquence to do it juſtice. One advantage indeed it poſſeſſes, that hardly any thing can be ſaid which will be thought extravagant; and what would, in other caſes be deemed flattery, will ſink far below the conceptions of the public mind. Flattery was ever confounded in the preſence of WASHINGTON, nor will it dare to approach his aſhes. That humility, however, which was the conſtant ornament of his virtues, ſhould not now obſtruct the offerings of a feeling and grateful people at his ſhrine. Nay, they ruſh with greater eagerneſs to teſtify their ſenſe of his tranſcendent and ineſtimable worth.

To the hiſtorian it belongs to relate in full, the birth, the education, the early, and the later achievements of GEORGE WASHINGTON. From the hiſtoric page we expect a minute deſcription of his civil and military, of his public and private life. Though a ſimple

recital of these might be the highest encomium, and it might be said,

> "Rais'd of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
> And those who paint them truest, praise them most,"*

yet they would lead the speaker into too large a field; he would not know what to select, and what to refuse, where all powerfully solicited his regard. Let history or biography, at present, serve only to develop and illustrate the character.

When GOD in his adorable providence intends to accomplish some glorious work upon earth, he provides and prepares his instruments among the children of men. Who does not see that Moses, by the manner in which he was preserved, the instruction which he received, and the habits of life to which he was inured, was fitted to lead the people of Israel? Who, that Cyrus, had we not been expressly informed, was "girded by the Lord?" The intention is frequently hidden from the persons themselves, and may not be obvious to others; though they will sometimes discern presages of future greatness. WASHINGTON was endued from his youth with a military spirit. When a stripling, like David, he encountered the enemies of his country. His first destination was to enter as a midshipman in a British vessel of war. This was happily prevented, that so, instead of the Admiral, he might become the General. He gave such early and uncommon indications of heroism as occasioned public mention of him by an eminent divine, in a discourse delivered soon after Braddock's defeat.† The subject was *religion* and *patriotism*. "As a remarkable instance," said he, "I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country." We will not call these words prophetic, but they have

* Addison's Campaign.

† The Rev. Samuel Davies, then settled in Virginia, and afterwards President of the College of New-Jersey.

been repeatedly quoted as a teſtimony of the budding honours of the American hero.

God prepared his ſervant, and in due time opened to him a vaſt ſcene, on which all his talents had their utmoſt exertion, and expanded in full diſplay. It having become neceſſary for America to oppoſe by force the unjuſt pretenſions of Britain, he was elected a member of the great Council, and ſoon after unanimouſly appointed Commander in Chief of the armies. This honour his modeſty forbade him to ſeek, and his love of country would not allow him to refuſe. The choice was directed by Heaven. "I feel great diſtreſs," ſaid he on his acceptance of the command, "from a conſciouſneſs that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extenſive and important truſt: however, as the Congreſs deſire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I poſſeſs in their ſervice, and for ſupport of the glorious cauſe." Modeſty ever accompanies great merit; and diffidence of abilities, when it caſts not into deſpondency, excites vigilance, and rouſes energies of ſoul concealed from the poſſeſſor himſelf.

General Washington had not ſeen much military ſervice, and what he had ſeen was on a ſmall ſcale. His army for a long time was undiſciplined, and continually changing by temporary enliſtments, or impatient militia; and ſometimes he had ſcarcely the ſhadow of an army. He was deſtitute of the neceſſaries for their ſupport, and of the inſtruments of war. He was called to create before he could command. In this ſituation he had to oppoſe the numerous and formidable legions of Britain, amply ſupplied with all the apparatus of death, and led on by the moſt renowned Generals. The hero of Monongahela, and the planter of Potowmac, nobly enters the liſt; ſnatches the laurels which had been gathered in Europe to adorn his own brow.

To eſtimate properly the merits of a General, we muſt attentively conſider the circumſtances in which

he is placed, and the means in his power. The American leader was never at the head of ſuch armies as cover the fields of Europe. No; with a naked and diſtreſſed handful, he kept the enemy in terror; impoſed on them by a parade of numbers and ſtrength; now ſought ſecurity in retreat; and now dared the fight; "ſwifter than an eagle and ſtronger than a lion." He who thus baffled the acknowledged ſkill and bravery of Britons, would, furniſhed with the means of war, march to the remoteſt ends of the earth.

We are willing to liſten to the higheſt ſtrains in favour of Britiſh valour, becauſe theſe redound to the honour of our Chief. Every wreath which is woven, is transferred to him. Either our invaders would not, or they could not ſubdue us. If they would not, then they were unfaithful to their truſt; if they could not, then the barrier was the American arms. Will any rather chooſe to compromiſe the matter, by reſolving the independence of America into the decree of Heaven? Great God, we adore thy juſt decree! To thee was the appeal made! Thou didſt fight for us! In tranſport we cry, "The ſword of the Lord, and of Gideon."

Permit me to ſay, that he whoſe obſequies we perform, had advantages which few enjoy. The cauſe in which he engaged was of the moſt exalted kind, and he was deeply penetrated with its juſtice and importance. He undertook not from motives of ambition or gain, but from the pure love of country, to which he continually ſacrificed his eaſe, his ſafety, and his life.

His attention to the duties of his ſtation was inceſſant. In the field no opportunity eſcaped him to haraſs or attack the enemy; and he was never found unapprehenſive of their deſigns, or unprepared to meet them. In winter quarters he revolved and digeſted the operations of the next campaign. He was not ſeen indulging in the amuſements of a theatre, diſſipating his time at a gaming table, or reclining on the lap of a

Delilah. His bed at camp was often hard. He often lay down in his daily dreſs.* His horſe ſtood equipped near him. Or, he ſat in council. Or, he examined the vigilance of his poſts. Or, he penned the diſpatch. The concerns of America wholly occupied his mind. Americans, you may well love him, for he ſaved you much blood and treaſure. He watched for your ſafety while you ſlept.

His patience and perſeverance were unexampled. To be obliged to retreat is at all times humiliating to a General, and dangerous to his fame. To him ſolely is calamity imputed. Though in conducting a retreat, the greateſt ſkill is often diſplayed, yet this, and the neceſſity are not generally known; and a people animated with the love of liberty are apt to be ſuſpicious. Here was the great trial of WASHINGTON, and here a principal trait in his military character. He retreated from Long Iſland in the face of a far ſuperior foe. He retreated from New-York Iſland in the face of total ruin. And he carried the ſmall and dejected remains of his army; one while preſenting a feeble front to the enemy, and another while retreating; until he croſſed the Delaware. No hope was left but in the preſence of WASHINGTON. It pleaſed GOD that he ſtill lived; and he was, perhaps, the only man who did not deſpair. If he had tumultuous paſſions, if fame was dearer to him than his life, what a conflict was here! What a victory over himſelf! Whiſperings and murmurings; imputations of unſkilfulneſs, of cowardice, and, it may be, of unfaithfulneſs, were infinitely harder to bear, than to fight. Theſe required a fortitude ſuperior to what was neceſſary to meet death in any ſhape. To endure theſe ſhowed real greatneſs. Saul, the firſt king of Iſrael, after his defeat at Mount Gilboa, ſlew himſelf with his own ſword; but Saul

* The night after the battle of Monmouth, he "repoſed himſelf in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day."
Ramſay's Hiſtory.

fell below WASHINGTON in every thing, except the towering ſize of his perſon.*

The American Chief, having collected a little ſtrength, braving the wintry waves and ſkies, re-croſſes the Delaware, and like an angry lion, chafed by the huntſmen, ſprings upon the foe, and thoſe who flee not periſh by his ſtroke. A far-famed hero marches at the head of numerous and veteran troops, but arriving near night, waits only the next dawn to revenge the havoc. Let us be thankful that the American army was at this time ſo weak; for had there been any thing like an equality to the enemy, or the moſt diſtant proſpect of ſucceſs, the morning ſun had ſhone upon fields of carnage and blood. WASHINGTON directing fires to be kindled in the night, and to be kept conſtantly burning, led his army by a circuitous road; and his cannon at Princeton firſt awaked the drowſy Britons whom he had left. The frozen clod was ſtained on the march with blood from the naked feet of his men.† There was obtained another, though a dear-bought victory. There *Hazelet* and *Mercer* fell, two thunderbolts of war. *Mercer!* let me lift the mantle from thy mangled body!—Covered with wounds like Ceſar in the ſenate-houſe!—Alas, not Ceſar now, but Brutus fell!

We find in General WASHINGTON a mind capable of planning and executing great enterpriſes. "The world," ſays an hiſtorian, "has been miſtaken in one opinion reſpecting his Excellency, whoſe natural temper poſſeſſes more of the Marcellus and leſs of the Fa-

* Saul "was higher than any of the people, from his ſhoulders and upward." WASHINGTON was full ſix feet and half an inch in ſtature. The hiſtorians and orators have generally mentioned his perſonal appearance. "His perſonal appearance is noble and engaging." *Gordon's Hiſtory.* "His perſon was conſiderably above the middle ſize, but of a dignified and graceful form." *Strong's Diſcourſe.* "His form was noble—His port majeſtic." *Morris's Oration.* "Mountain air, abundant exerciſe in the open country, the wholeſome toils of the chaſe, and the delightful ſcenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unuſual but graceful and well proportioned ſize." *Ramſay's Hiſtory.*

† Dr. Ramſay in his hiſtory mentions the ſame circumſtance as happening on another occaſion. "The American army," ſays he, "might have been tracked, by the blood of their feet, in marching without ſhoes or ſtockings over the hard frozen ground, between Whitemarſh and Valley-Forge."

bius than has been generally imagined.* We are aſſured that he meditated deſigns which the reſources of the country would not admit of being carried into effect; and whenever his force promiſed the leaſt impreſſion, we ſee him either boldly receiving the enemy, or advancing to attack them. Witneſs the battles of Brandywine, of Germantown and of Monmouth. In theſe places, as well as at Haerlem and Princeton, he expoſed himſelf to the thickeſt dangers, and courted a glorious death. A ſwell of paſſions had nearly burſt his manly breaſt. He ſaw victory, but had not the means to obtain it; he had victory, and it was ſuddenly ſnatched from his graſp.†

At length GOD interpoſed for his relief, and enabled him to contend upon equal terms. Aſſiſted by a fleet and ſome brave legions from France, he plans the capture of York Town in Virginia, marches thither the allied army, and by one bold and deciſive effort accompliſhes the deliverance of his country. The Britiſh hero, who had marked him as an eaſy prey at Trenton, finds now his numbers, his ſkill and his bravery unavailing; he capitulates at the cannon's mouth, and lays all his trophies at the feet of WASHINGTON. How applicable to our hero are theſe lines!

> "So when an angel, by divine command,
> With riſing tempeſts ſhakes a guilty land,
> Such as of late o'er pale Britannia paſt,
> Calm and ſerene he drives the furious blaſt;
> And pleas'd the Almighty's orders to perform,
> Rides in the whirlwind and directs the ſtorm."‡

As General WASHINGTON, like Cincinnatus, left his retirement and the purſuits of agriculture merely

* Gordon.

† When the enemy landed upon New-York Iſland, the Americans fled before an inferior force. General WASHINGTON rode up and attempted, in vain, to rally them. This "raiſed a tempeſt in his uſually tranquil mind. He hazarded his perſon for ſome conſiderable time in rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy. His aids and the confidential friends around his perſon, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire. At Princeton, when the centre of the Americans, being briſkly charged, gave way, he placed himſelf between his own men and the Britiſh, with his horſe's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a ſtand and returned the Britiſh fire. The General, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either." *Ramſay's Hiſtory.*

‡ Addiſon's Campaign.

for the ſervice of his country, ſo when his work was finiſhed, he returned with the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction. He reckoned himſelf overpaid for all his labours and hardſhips. How ſweet this abode of reſt and peace after the toil and din of arms! How far ſuperior his fame to that of Alexander or Ceſar! They fought for the ſake of conqueſt, and to enſlave mankind; he, in defence of their juſt rights, and to make them happy. They, for perſonal aggrandizement; he, for the beſt good of others. Ceſar uſurped the ſupreme dominion of the State; WASHINGTON returned to the ſtation of a private citizen. Hear his words at the reſignation of his commiſſion to Congreſs: "I conſider it as an indiſpenſable duty to cloſe this laſt ſolemn act of my official life, by commending the intereſts of our deareſt country to the protection of Almighty GOD, and thoſe who have the ſuperintendence of them to his holy keeping. Having now finiſhed the work aſſigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this auguſt body, under whoſe orders I have long acted, I here offer my commiſſion, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." So he wiſhed and naturally thought; but he had not yet finiſhed all the work which God had aſſigned him. In entering again upon public life, he is influenced by the ſame modeſty and diſintereſted motives. He does not thruſt himſelf forward to view, but ſubmits to the claim, and obeys the loud call of his fellow-citizens. He declines, as formerly, any compenſation for his ſervices. In this way he evinces true patriotiſm, diſarms envy, and enhances univerſal eſteem.

When he retired from the command of the army, every one ſuppoſed that he had attained to the pinnacle of greatneſs, and would recline in ſafety the remainder of his days beneath a ſhade of laurels at Mount Vernon; but we behold him renouncing his retirement, and putting all his fame at riſk. This was, perhaps, the moſt magnanimous action of his life, and eclipſed

even his military luſtre. By firſt aſſiſting in framing a government, the bleſſings of which we now enjoy, and then giving ſtability and energy to that government, by accepting the office of Chief Magiſtrate at two different times, he ſecured to his country all the conſequences expected from the revolution. No man can conceive the magnanimity of this conduct, but he who approaches in ſome meaſure to the greatneſs of WASHINGTON.

During the time which elapſed between his firſt military exploits and the revolutionary war, he had been attentive to the ſcience of government, and employed in affairs of ſtate. The buſineſs therefore was not altogether new to him. He had beſides the moſt excellent judgment, the moſt conſummate prudence, and knew better than any man how to make the information and experience of others his own. He comprehended, he ſeparated, he combined, he weighed, he decided, and his deciſion was ever wiſe and unſhaken.

The queſtion will be agitated by poſterity, Whether he was the greater General or Stateſman? Thoſe who read his official letters, his addreſſes when he retired from the army, and from the preſidency; and who are intimately acquainted with his adminiſtration, will be inclined to pronounce in favour of the latter. Thoſe who have not duly conſidered theſe, and more narrowly ſurvey his difficulties and ſucceſs in war, will be inclined to pronounce in favour of the former. The controverſy can be ſettled only by admitting that he was "firſt in war, and firſt in peace."

Under his adminiſtration the offices of government were filled by the firſt talents which could be found; or the beſt which the economy of the government could command; and, let it not be deemed too bold, by ſome of the greateſt talents in the world. Under his adminiſtration, America was proſperous and happy. It was impoſſible that the expectations of all could be gratified, and the opinions of all followed. The ſeaſon was peculiarly tempeſtuous, and the rocks

many and dangerous. The pilot was wiſe and firm, having always in view, as his pole-ſtar, the public good. When we conſider the information which is neceſſary to judge of public meaſures, the claſhing of the intereſts of men, and the fatal influence of prejudice and paſſion on their minds, we are aſtoniſhed at his unſpotted fame.

How modeſt and beautiful are his words in that precious legacy which he left us at his reſignation! "Though in reviewing the incidents of my adminiſtration, I am unconſcious of intentional error; I am nevertheleſs too ſenſible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beſeech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I ſhall alſo carry with me the hope that my country will never ceaſe to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its ſervice, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be conſigned to oblivion, as myſelf muſt ſoon be to the manſions of reſt." Who, on hearing theſe words, is not tempted to exclaim, WASHINGTON, live forever! His fame, indeed, is immortal. Poſterity will ſee with rapture, ſculptured on his tomb, wiſdom, liberty, and juſtice.

Another time he retires with the benediction of millions. Eight years he wielded the ſword, eight years he held the reins of government. The ſtormy ſea was paſſed, and he reſigns the helm to other hands. If deſire always prompted, increaſing age ſeemed to render it neceſſary that he ſhould ſeek repoſe. Or, was it that he might enforce, by his example, the virtues and duties of a private life? That he might teach us induſtry, temperance, charity, and economy? To be affectionate huſbands and tender maſters? That on the faithful performance each one of his ſeveral relations, depends perſonal and public happineſs? Whom do we ſee in yonder fields, near the waters of the Potowmac, ſurrounded by a group of labourers? It is the

late illuſtrious Commander of the armies, and the late Chief Magiſtrate of the United States. How auguſt the ſpectacle! Citizens of America, venerate the ſickle and the plough, for they have been dignified not only by the heroes and patriarchs of old, but by the father of your country!

Though naturally reſerved, yet he was not haughty. Though thoſe who approached him felt his ſuperiority, yet he did not aſſume. He blended dignity and condeſcenſion. The greateſt and the ſmalleſt objects received from him a due attention. He never betrayed any ſymptoms of vain glory. When he was once aſked, whether he had ever ſaid, as was reported, "that he knew no muſic ſo pleaſing as the whiſtling of bullets," he anſwered, "If I ſaid ſo, it was when I was young."* Learning to eſtimate juſtly all human glory, and matured by experience; accuſtomed to lofty conceptions, and moving always in the important ſpheres of life; impreſſed with a ſenſe that he derived all from GOD, and that all ſhould be devoted to his ſervice; his deportment was noble, equally removed from the ſupercilious and the vain. Some men have been great at one time, and deſpicable at another; ſome men have performed a ſingle great action, and never roſe to the like again; but to him great actions ſeemed common. Some men have appeared great at the head of armies, or when ſurrounded by the trappings of power, and little when ſtripped of theſe, and alone; ſome men have withſtood the ſtorms of adverſity, and been melted by the ſunſhine of proſperity; ſome men have poſſeſſed ſplendid public talents, and diſgraced theſe by ſordid private vices; but it is difficult to determine when and where WASHINGTON ſhone the brighteſt. It can only be ſaid, that he was uniformly great.

One part of his character remains to be mentioned, and which crowns the whole; that is his reverence for the Sabbath, his acknowledgment of a Providence,

* Gordon's Hiſtory.

and his attendance upon the inſtitutions of religion. In all his public documents, GOD is honoured; after deliverances or victories, thankſgivings were by his order offered; and it is well known that he invariably attended divine worſhip. The fooliſh and wicked cant of exalting human reaſon, and aſcribing all to fortune, received from him no countenance. Neither in the parade of military life, nor in the cares of civil adminiſtration; neither in a ſtate of depreſſion, nor amidſt the intoxicating ſweets of power and adulation; did he forget to pay homage to "the MOST HIGH, who doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth." It is not wholly improbable that the fate of the unhappy Braddock, who, it is ſaid, expreſſed himſelf in a boaſting and profane manner, left on the mind of young WASHINGTON an indelible impreſſion. "Thus ſaith the LORD, Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he underſtandeth and knoweth me, that I am the LORD which exerciſe loving-kindneſs, judgment and righteouſneſs, in the earth."*

Hear the teſtimony which WASHINGTON bore for religion on his reſignation of the Chief Magiſtracy: "Of all the diſpoſitions and habits which lead to political proſperity, religion and morality are indiſpenſable ſupports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotiſm, who ſhould labour to ſubvert theſe great pillars of human happineſs, theſe firmeſt props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man ought to reſpect and to cheriſh them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity." Incomparable man! He devoted his time, his talents, and his labours to our ſervice; and he hath left his advice, and his example to us, and to all generations!

* Jer. ix. 23, 24.

There was in him that aſſemblage of qualities which conſtitutes real greatneſs; and theſe qualities were remarkably adapted to the conſpicuous part which he was called to perform. He was not tinſel, but gold; not a pebble, but a diamond; not a meteor, but a ſun. Were he compared with the ſages and the heroes of antiquity, he would gain by the compariſon; or rather, he would be found to be free from the blemiſhes, and to unite the excellencies of them all. Like Fabius he was prudent; like Hannibal he was unappalled by difficulties; like Cyrus he conciliated affection; like Cimon he was frugal; like Scipio he was chaſte; like Philopemen he was humble; and like Pompey he was ſucceſsful. If we compare him with characters in the ſacred records, he combined the exploits of Moſes and Joſhua, not only by conducting us ſafely acroſs the Red Sea and through the wilderneſs, but by bringing us into the promiſed land; like David he conquered an inſulting Goliath, and roſe to the higheſt honours from a humble ſtation; like Hezekiah he ruled; and like Joſiah at his death, there is a mourning "as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." Nor is the mourning confined to us, but extends to all the wiſe and the good who ever heard of his name. The Generals whom he oppoſed will wrap their hilts in black, and ſtern Cornwallis drop a tear.

He was honoured even in death. After all his fatigues, and though he had arrived near to the limit fixed for human life,* yet his underſtanding was not impaired, nor his frame waſted by any lingering diſeaſe. We did not hear of his ſickneſs, until we heard that he was no more. His acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-General of the armies is a proof that "Save my country, Heaven," was his laſt. What would have been to moſt men the meridian of glory, was the ſetting ſun of WASHINGTON. With an increaſed orb, its

* He was born Feb. 22, 1732; accepted the command of the American army, June 16, 1775, in the 44th year of his age; and died Dec. 14, 1799, in the 68th year of his age.

parting rays paint the clouds with brighteſt colours, and illumine all the mountain tops. In the full poſſeſſion of his reaſon, and without fear of death, which he had often faced in the field, he breathed his mighty ſoul into the hands of his almighty and merciful CREATOR.

Hark!—A meſſage from the tomb!—

"Citizens of America,

"You are aſſembled to expreſs your gratitude for ſervices which you believe to have been rendered by me, and to teſtify your ſorrow for my death. Next to the teſtimony of a good conſcience, it was ever the ſummit of my wiſhes to deſerve well of my country. But, let your gratitude aſcend to Him who faſhioned me as I was, who kept me under his holy protection, and who hath, in his ſovereign will, recalled me from the earth. My career was much longer than might have been expected. It was anxious; it was laborious; it was weariſome—I now reſt.

"Let the love you bore me, the confidence you were pleaſed always to repoſe in me, and the regard you now profeſs for my memory, be ſhown in following thoſe admonitions which I have given you, and which I endeavoured to enforce by my own example. Baniſh party intereſt and party ſpirit. Suffer no foreign influence to affect your councils. Give ſupport and ſtability to your government. Honour and reward your public officers. Pay the ſtricteſt attention to the injunctions of religion and morality. Then, under the propitious ſmiles of Heaven, you will long be a flouriſhing and happy people."

Thus, methinks, our deceaſed father addreſſes us this day.

In the eighteenth century have flouriſhed a number of the moſt eminent philoſophers, hiſtorians, orators, poets, patriots, and ſtateſmen; the cloſe of it has been eventful and aſtoniſhing beyond all precedent. In the end of the fifteenth century, Columbus diſcovered this

new world; in the end of the eighteenth, WASHINGTON aroſe to give Columbia independence and rank among the nations. To the luſtre of ſo many names, and to a period of ſuch wonderful events, he joins his blaze. Memorable era! The age of great men, the age of extraordinary revolutions, the age of WASHINGTON.

He outlived many of his compatriots. *Warren* fell an early martyr. Hardy *Putnam*, brave *Stirling*, active *Sullivan*, patriotic *M'Dougall*, incorruptible *Reed*,* *Wayne*, chief of Stony-Point, *Thomas*, *Naſh*, *Wooſter*, *Spencer*, *Thompſon*, *Cadwallader*, *Mifflin*, have all bowed to death. Undaunted *Smallwood* and *Morgan*, *Butler*, ſurpriſed by a ſavage foe, and brave in death; *Steuben*, bred in European camps, ſkilled in military diſcipline, an adopted and favourite ſon, born alike to form the battle's dread array, and grace the feſtive board; *De Kalb*, *Pulaſki*, *Scammel*, *Armſtrong*, *Parſons*, *Giſt*, *Poor*, *Maxwell*, *Williams*, *Glover*, *Herkimer*, *Stark*, *Varnum*, *Woodford*——"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed!"†——*Montgomery*'s career was ſhort, but glorious. On Abram's Plains

* This gentleman, when a large bribe was indirectly offered him, anſwered, "I am not worth purchaſing, but ſuch as I am the king of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it." *Ramſay's and Gordon's Hiſtories.*

† This enumeration is not pretended to be complete; and it was impoſſible to give every one his due praiſe. Only general officers are mentioned, of whom nine were ſlain in the field. Thoſe who contributed to the revolution by their counſels are omitted; of whom there is a long and venerable liſt. Praiſe to living characters is purpoſely avoided. Death will ſtamp their value, and poſterity duly eſtimate their merits.

In this liſt, it would be needleſs to ſay to thoſe who knew him, that Armſtrong combined, in a high degree, the great and amiable qualities. His age and other circumſtances prevented his taking a large and conſpicuous part in the American war; but he had the confidence of WASHINGTON; and like him, gave proofs of a military ſpirit at an early period. He conducted the expedition againſt the Kittaning, an Indian town, and was highly honoured by the proprietors of Pennſylvania for his gallant behaviour. On this occaſion he and Mercer were both wounded. He had a principal ſhare either in adviſing or directing all the ſubſequent expeditions. He commanded the Pennſylvania militia at the battle of Germantown; and it is a fact not generally known, that the fort on Sullivan's iſland, S. C. would have been evacuated as indefenſible, had it not been for him and the brave Col. Moultrie. His chief glory, however, was that he "fought the good fight of faith," and is gone with the famous Col. Gardiner, whom he greatly reſembled, to receive an immortal crown.

he found with *Wolfe* a deathleſs fame. *Greene*, the great compeer and friend of WASHINGTON, ſurvived the war, but lived not to enjoy its fruits under a well-balanced government. He too ſought the ſhade, and cultivated the arts of peace, after obtaining a fame everlaſting as the high hills of Santee, and pure as the Eutaw ſprings.

"In hours of peace content to be unknown,
And only in the field of battle ſhown:
To ſouls like theſe, in mutual friendſhip join'd,
Heav'n dares intruſt the cauſe of human kind." *

Why ſhould I mention others? Or why have I mentioned theſe? Our griefs are all abſorbed in thee, O WASHINGTON!—There is not ſuch another to die—Few ſuch have ever exiſted in any age—The world leſſened when he died——

"Death, ere thou haſt kill'd another
Wife, and great, and good as he,
Time ſhall throw a dart at thee." †

Ye CINCINNATI, his companions in arms, and ſharers in his glory, what ſcenes does this day bring to your remembrance! In imagination you ſuffer all the toils, and fight the battles over again. Before you moves the majeſtic and graceful man; graceful when he ſteps, more graceful when he mounts the prancing ſteed. Serene at all times, moſt ſerene in misfortunes and danger. The cares of America appear on his brow, and he wears her defence by his ſide. Ah! had he been captured by the enemy, your gleamy ſwords would have been drawn for his reſcue. Or, had he been expoſed in the front of battle, you would have ſhielded him with your own bodies; and had he fallen, a thouſand victims had avenged his death. Againſt natural death you could interpoſe no ſhield! Seek not to reſtrain your tears, 'tis ſoldierlike now to weep—True courage and ſenſibility are intimately connected. Your General, your Father, and your Friend is—no more——The laſt time he and his band of broth-

* Addiſon's Campaign.

† An epitaph of Ben Johnſon's altered.

ers were all together, you followed him with penſive countenances to the banks of the Hudſon, and on his entering the barge he turned towards you, and by waving his hat, bade you a ſilent adieu. He now bids you an adieu—forever. Imitate him in his love of country, in all his private and public virtues; and then like him, you will live beloved, and die lamented.

Come, ye fair daughters of America, weep for WASHINGTON. He ſaved your parents, friends, and lovers. Come, mingle your tears with the adored partner of his cares and joys at Mount Vernon.

Come all, and take a laſt look. Many of you remember his triumphant entry into this city after the evacuation, and what pleaſure then ſwelled your boſoms. You remember his ſecond entry, when he accepted the preſidency of the United States. You preſſed to ſee him. To the officer of the guard appointed to attend him on his landing he ſaid, "My guard is the affection of my fellow-citizens." There, indeed, he reigned without control. There, indeed, he had a ſecurity, and a teſtimony of his worth, more valuable and durable than the pomp and power of kings can afford. There he will live while there remains one of the preſent generation; and the faithful hiſtorian will hand down his fame to the lateſt ages. The name of WASHINGTON will be revered while the American empire endures: yea, until this globe itſelf be wrapt in the laſt fires, and the angel ſhall "ſwear by Him that liveth forever and ever, that time ſhall be no longer."

An Oration

ON THE DEATH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Delivered at *EXETER, February* 22, 1800.

BY JEREMIAH SMITH.

WE are aſſembled, my reſpected fellow-citizens, at the recommendation of the higheſt authority in our nation, publickly to teſtify our grief for the death of a beloved and illuſtrious citizen. Our country this day preſents to the world a ſpectacle, as ſublime as it is novel—A republic, inconſolable for the loſs of a ſingle citizen; five millions of people at the ſame moment employed in acts of devotion to Almighty GOD, and in the ſame unfeigned expreſſions of ſorrow for this afflictive diſpenſation of his holy providence.

It is not indeed without example, that a nation ſhould generally adopt the ſymbols of mourning for the death of a leader, a prince, or a benefactor: but where ſhall we look, except to this melancholy occaſion, for grief ſo univerſal, as ſcarcely to admit of a ſingle exception; ſo ſincere, as to exclude all affectation of ſorrow; and ſo poignant, that hearts the leaſt ſuſceptible of the tender emotions feel more, than it is in the power of language to expreſs! Our young men have loſt a father; the more aged, a brother; religion, her brighteſt ornament; our country, her ſhield, her defence, her glory in war, her guide, her great example in peace.

This anniverſary, for many years devoted to gladneſs and rejoicing; a day, when every heart beat high with joy, and every countenance beamed with pleaſure, is now, alas! a day of darkneſs and of ſorrow. It hath pleaſed Him, who ſitteth on the circle of the heavens.

to take to himſelf the delight of all eyes, the joy and the pride of every heart.

The proclamation, under which we are convened, has pointed out in general terms the duties of this ſolemn occaſion. Let this day be ſacredly devoted to ſorrow; let us retire from the buſy ſcenes of life, and for a few moments quit that world, from which in a few days we muſt part forever. Let us ſpend one day at the tomb of the illuſtrious WASHINGTON; and, while employed in the ſad office of paying the laſt tribute of reſpect and affection to our departed friend, may it pleaſe the Father of all mercies to grant that his death, as well as the virtuous acts of his glorious life, may ſerve to make us both wiſer and better. In this way, and in this way only, ſhall we ſuitably improve this affecting diſpenſation of Providence, and anſwer the benevolent views of thoſe, who have ſummoned us together.

A ſuitable eulogy or diſcourſe on the illuſtrious dead, while it attempts to give expreſſion to the grief, which oppreſſes the heart of every hearer, by delineating a character worthy our higheſt admiration, will tend to excite in us the livelieſt emotions of gratitude to Heaven, for a gift ſo precious, the keeneſt anguiſh for his loſs at this eventful moment, and the moſt ardent deſires to imitate his excellent virtues.

But who can paint the ſorrows that actuate every boſom? For my own part, I muſt decline a taſk, to which I am wholly incompetent. My own feelings tell me, that I never can deſcribe yours. Silence is the language of true and genuine grief, and tears are eloquent beyond the power of words. Attempt not to repreſs them, when it is manly to weep. They are a voluntary tribute of reſpect to the memory of him, who has been juſtly called firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the hearts of his countrymen. If aught below can reach him in the realms above; if aught on earth can convey pleaſure to his immortal ſoul; it is

the tears of a grateful people, voluntarily ſhed over his grave.*

To delineate the character of our beloved WASHINGTON is no eaſy taſk. He, who is called to ſpeak the praiſes of the dead, by the general licenſe of mankind, is indulged with the privilege of concealing the faults, and of magnifying the virtues of the perſon, who is the ſubject of his praiſe. The poverty or badneſs of his materials has generally impoſed on the euloguiſt of the moſt ſcrupulous regard for truth, the neceſſity of availing himſelf of this humane indulgence. Hence it has frequently happened, that the picture has greatly exceeded in beauty the original, and the hearer has gone away charmed with the character, who would have deteſted the man to whom it is applied.

The euloguiſt of WASHINGTON has no vices to conceal. Inſtead of indulging his fancy, by excurſions into the regions of fiction in queſt of materials for praiſe, he will find himſelf oppreſſed by matter ſo rich, as to preclude exaggeration, and ſo copious, as only to embarraſs him in the ſelection. Of him it may be truly ſaid, that the moſt faithful picture will exhibit the greateſt beauty and the moſt ſtriking reſemblance.

Secure from the imputation of aſcribing to the illuſtrious dead unmerited praiſes, how can I hope to eſcape the cenſure of every one of my hearers, for omitting, in the character I would delineate, ſome amiable trait, which won his affections, ſome favourite excellence, which commanded his admiration?

Amid all the difficulties incident to my ſituation, and feeling, as I do, an almoſt total want of ability to execute the part your kind partiality has aſſigned me, in the ſolemn exerciſes of the day, I have this conſolation, that as on the one hand no exertion of talents, however great, could exalt a character, incapable of receiving any addition of praiſe; ſo on the other, the

* Cæſar purchaſed his popularity while living, and the tears ſhed over his grave with largeſſes; that is, he robbed half mankind to gain the praiſes and the tears of the other half.

moſt imperfect ſketch, and the moſt defective execution of my deſign, can in no wiſe leſſen the public eſtimation of his merits. Thanks be to GOD, his character is conſummated, his glory is depoſited where neither misfortune nor malevolence can tarniſh nor deſtroy it.

To conſtitute a great and perfect character, there muſt be an aſſemblage of the great and ſhining qualities, which dazzle by their ſplendour the popular eye, blended in exact proportion with the ſofter and more gentle virtues, beneficence, humanity, moderation, piety and charity. Theſe latter, though calculated to ſteal the heart and win the affections, as they lie more in the ſhade, are leſs known and leſs regarded. It is rare indeed to find the ſplendid, the amiable, and the uſeful united in the ſame perſon. Our WASHINGTON furniſhes an exception to the general rule; and it will forever remain a queſtion, whether he was moſt diſtinguiſhed above all other men by the greatneſs of his talents, or the goodneſs of his heart; whether his noble, his uſeful, or his amiable virtues predominated; and which of theſe have been moſt glorious to himſelf, or moſt ſerviceable to his country. If by the firſt he has acquired the title of our political ſaviour, by the latter, like Marcus Aurelius, he has merited to be ſtyled, by the more endearing epithet, the father of his country.

It belongs to the hiſtorian of our nation to write the life of him, who was the chief inſtrument employed by Heaven in achieving our independence. His name and that of our country are inſeparable.

A faithful narrative of what he did and what he ſuffered, during the period of a long, a bloody, and a dubious conflict, which terminated ſo glorioufly, will furniſh the higheſt eulogium on his wiſdom, his virtue, and his talents.

To enter upon a field ſo extenſive, neither ſuits my ſlender abilities, nor comports with the proper duties of the day. Let us be contented with a more contracted view of the illuſtrious ſubject of our grief in the

various characters of a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, a private citizen, a man and a chriſtian.

When in the courſe of human events the time had arrived, that the political bands, which connected us with another nation, were to be diſſolved; when our venerable fathers decreed to aſſume an equal ſtation among the powers of the earth, it became neceſſary that they ſhould defend with the ſword thoſe rights, they claimed for themſelves and their poſterity.

Among the bold and intrepid aſſerters of our liberties, which that ever memorable period of our hiſtory produced, the illuſtrious WASHINGTON was found. That truly dignified and manly ſpirit of freedom, which has ſince diſplayed itſelf in all his actions, then glowed in his breaſt.

In the early period of his life he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſoldier, and had given an earneſt of thoſe military talents, which have ſince burſt upon the world with ſo much ſplendour. But at that period his fame was neither ſo brilliant, nor ſo extenſive, as to mark him out to the public as the fitteſt among the thouſands of his valiant countrymen, to exerciſe a command ſo new, ſo difficult, and ſo hazardous. I mention this, not with any deſign to depreciate his early fame, but to lead us to aſcribe his unanimous election to the ſupreme command of our armies, to the inviſible agency of that Almighty Being, to whom we are alike indebted for our exiſtence as an independent nation, and for the means by which it was accompliſhed.

It muſt give us pleaſure, and I am ſure it will afford us inſtruction, to recur to this memorable period of our annals and of his glory.

Who is not ſtruck with admiration at the modeſt diffidence, with which he accepted the command of our armies? The truly great are truly humble. His able diſcharge of the important truſt no leſs clearly proves the former, than the whole tenor of his life evinces the latter.

I have ſaid, that this firſt diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of public approbation, as it reſpected him, was both hazardous and difficult. His life, his fortune, and, what was dearer than both, his untarniſhed honour, were ſtaked on the event.

Even at this ſhort diſtance of time, it is not eaſy juſtly to appreciate the difficulties he had to encounter. Our country preſented to the world the novel ſpectacle of thirteen independent Colonies, different in their habits, manners, and in their intereſts; connected only by a ſenſe of common danger; without alliances, without funds, without a government; oppoſed in arms by a nation as brave as ſhe was powerful; a nation, fluſhed with conqueſt, and obſtinately determined on our ſubjugation. To engage in a conteſt ſo arduous, and to every human eye ſo unequal, required the zeal of a martyr; to conduct it, wiſdom and firmneſs apparently more than human; to bring it to a happy and ſucceſsful concluſion, we are conſtrained to acknowledge, that it required the powerful agency of Providence, co-operating with the ſublimeſt exertions of human virtue.

Who has forgotten the gloomy aſpect of our affairs at an early period of the war, when our army was ſucceſſively driven from all their ſtrong holds by our triumphant and exulting foe? At this period, to adopt the language of our excellent Preſident, we behold our magnanimous Chief in adverſity; in the deepeſt diſtreſs, and moſt trying perplexities. The gods witneſs with pleaſure a brave man ſtruggling with the ſtorms of fate. To us, ſhort-ſighted mortals, it would ſeem that they ſometimes delight in raiſing the tempeſt, and thickening the cloud, that their favourites may emerge to more reſplendent glory.

The joy, univerſally diffuſed by the brilliant ſucceſſes at Trenton and Princeton, at the cloſe of this memorable year, was no doubt heightened by the gloomy contraſt, which the preceding ſummer afforded. From this day our proſpects brightened, but they were not

always bright. Our beloved Chief paſſed through a thouſand ſcenes of diſtreſs and danger, with a ſpirit unbroken by adverſity—a ſpirit, which not only enabled him to ſuſtain the weight of cares which devolved on him, but ſerved to revive and animate his fainting troops. At the outſet in his military career, he had to contend with difficulties of an unuſual nature. All his ſoldiers, and with few exceptions, his ſubordinate officers, were wholly undiſciplined. They were brave, and each poſſeſſed a portion of the ſame ardour for liberty, which animated their illuſtrious leader: but they were impatient of control, becauſe unaccuſtomed to the reſtraints of military life. But he was born to ſurmount difficulties never ſurmounted before.

His perſonal merit, and the confidence inſpired by his virtues, enabled him to conquer his own troops, that with them he might conquer the enemy. His own conduct gave a ſanction to the rules he preſcribed for others. He practiſed himſelf the difficult leſſons he taught, and every ſoldier dreaded a Chief, who had learned to obey, and therefore was worthy to command.

It cannot, therefore, excite our wonder ſo much as our admiration of his virtues, that our citizens were ſo ſoon converted into ſoldiers, when to acquire the approbation and eſteem of their beloved General was the motive, and the poſſeſſion of that eſteem the never-failing reward, of military merit, though found in the loweſt grade.

The brilliant victories and ſucceſſes, which attended the American arms, from the period of which we have been ſpeaking, to the final triumph at York Town, muſt be aſcribed, under Heaven, to the able deſigns of our illuſtrious Chief, formed in a maſterly manner, and executed with a proportionate degree of ſkill and prudence, no leſs than to the bravery and ſpirit of his troops.

I muſt not omit to mention, while conſidering the military character of the illuſtrious dead, his uniform attention, in all diſaſters and changes, to the rights of the civil

power; his invariable reſpect to the perſons and property of the citizens; and, what muſt have afforded him, at the cloſe of life, more ſolid joy than battles won and enemies vanquiſhed, his clemency to the guilty, and his mild and temperate juſtice to all. If other Generals can boaſt, that they have ſlain their thouſands, WASHINGTON may truly add, I have preſerved my ten thouſands. In a word, his enemies, if he had any, could not heſitate to allow him the talents of the moſt conſummate General; and his country never can forget, that he conducted the great military conteſt with wiſdom, fortitude, and ſucceſs; and enabled his fellow-citizens to diſplay their martial genius, and tranſmit their fame to poſterity.

After a purſuit of ſeven long years, the object of our moſt juſt and arduous ſtruggle, by the bleſſing of Heaven, was accompliſhed, and our enemies compelled to abandon their ſchemes and acknowledge our independence.

Let all due praiſes be given to the valiant ſoldiers, who fought our battles; to the brave and intrepid officers, who led them on to victory and glory. Let the names of the gallant *Warren*, *Mercer*, and *Montgomery* be had in everlaſting remembrance: let us never forget the debt of gratitude we owe a *Greene*, a *Sullivan*, a *Scammel*, and a long liſt of heroes, whoſe names and achievements will be found to occupy a conſpicuous place in the annals of our revolution. Sufficient praiſe ſtill remains for him, whoſe mighty ſoul planned, directed, and animated the whole.

When our independence was eſtabliſhed, our beloved Chief, having taught a leſſon uſeful to thoſe who inflict, and to thoſe who feel oppreſſion, retired to the peaceful ſhade of private life, covered with glory, and attended with the bleſſings of his grateful countrymen.

It has often been remarked, that nature, as if parſimonious of her choiceſt gifts, has rarely beſtowed on her favourite children, talents to excel, in the various and multiplied purſuits of human life.

The race of heroes has generally proved as deſtructive in peace, as they have been terrible in war, while the ableſt ſtateſmen have been found, on experiment, incapable of acquiring any degree of military fame. It was this ſentiment, founded as it would ſeem in nature, and juſtified by experience, which led the fond admirers of WASHINGTON to fear, that he might loſe at the helm of ſtate ſome portion of that glory, which he had won at the head of our armies. To have expreſſed a belief, at this intereſting period of his life, that his glory was capable of any addition, would have been condemned as implying deficiency in a character deemed complete. To have indulged even the hope of an increaſe of honours would have been viewed in no other light, than as one of thoſe flattering deluſions, which our wiſhes ſometimes contrive to impoſe on our judgment. Thanks be to Heaven, that to our time and to our country has been reſerved the ſingular felicity, of preſenting to the world a character, as conſpicuouſly unrivalled for the virtues of civil adminiſtration, as it had been rendered illuſtrious for military achievements.

The merit of his ſervices, during the eight years he preſided in our public councils, can only be appreciated by a view of the magnitude and difficulty of the truſt he was called to execute, and the courſe of conduct he purſued during his civil adminiſtration.

Entering upon a frame of government, excellent indeed in theory, but which had not as yet received the ſanction of experience, it required no ſmall ſhare of political ability, to lay the foundations of our civil inſtitutions in ſuch a manner, as beſt to ſecure domeſtic tranquillity, eſtabliſh juſtice, promote the general welfare, and thus, in the way of gradual progreſſion, to raiſe our country to that rank and importance among the nations, to which we ſeem deſtined by the GOD of nature.

Without derogating from the praiſes due to the able and enlightened ſtateſmen, who filled the ſubordinate departments of government, we can never forget how

much we owe to his prudence, judgment, and unremitted labours, that, while other nations are involved in a bloody and deſtructive war, our happy country has enjoyed ſo much internal tranquillity; that ſhe has had time to mature her recent inſtitutions; and to acquire that portion of ſtrength, which, with the bleſſing of Heaven, will enable her to ſupport her independence, and maintain her juſt rights againſt all her enemies.

In the management of our external concerns as a nation, the wiſdom of our great Chief Magiſtrate was eminently diſplayed. Connected as we are with the old world, it was juſtly to be apprehended, that the war in Europe would endanger our peace. There is nothing in the character of our beloved WASHINGTON more ſtrongly marked, than his deteſtation of war, and his love of peace. War he conſidered as the diſgrace and calamity of human nature. As a man and as a patriot he loved peace; but it was that peace, which is conſiſtent with the public good, the public engagements, and the public honour. This peace he cultivated with the moſt ardent zeal. He invited the friendſhip of all nations, and ſought to preſerve it, by performing all our engagements to them with the moſt pure and abſolute faith. That a policy ſo magnanimous, and ſo honourable for our country, has not been productive of all the good, that was rationally to have been expected from it; that it has not entirely exempted us from the calamity of actual war, is not to be aſcribed to any defect of wiſdom in him who adopted it; but to the unparalleled corruption, baſeneſs, and profligacy of thoſe men, whom a juſt GOD, to ſcourge a ſinful world, (and our imagination can ſcarcely conceive of a more dreadful plague) has permitted to uſurp dominion over the faireſt and moſt civilized portion of the globe.

Let us carry our imaginations back to that period of our hiſtory, when every artifice was practiſed to draw our government from the neutral poſition ſhe had taken.

Our magnanimous Chief was neither to be diverted by flattery, nor deterred by menaces, from the pacific ſyſtem he had adopted: a ſyſtem ſo congenial to his feelings and our intereſts. Deſpairing at length of being able to intimidate or corrupt the government, it only remained to corrupt the people. In all governments, and eſpecially in thoſe of the popular kind, there are men to be found, ready to ſacrifice on the altar of private ambition the deareſt intereſts of their country.*

In this age of revolution, language itſelf has been revolutionized, and wicked and unprincipled men, profeſſing a more enlarged patriotiſm, have laboured to ſubvert our excellent Conſtitution, and to undermine the pillars, which ſupport our independence as a nation. For this purpoſe, every act of our public functionaries has been miſrepreſented; ſuſpicions and jealouſies diſſeminated, and the groſſeſt calumnies induſtriouſly circulated. In this way it was eaſily ſeen, that the power of our government, which has for its baſis the confidence of the people in thoſe who adminiſter it, would ſoon be deſtroyed; and we, like Geneva, Holland, and Switzerland, become the humble ſatellite of a foreign nation. The ſpirit of oppoſition to our government now aſſumed a formidable ſhape and ſize. The vicious, the turbulent, and the diſorderly are naturally hoſtile to the beſt and mildeſt government. The ignorant were deluded; the timid and wavering had already enliſted under the banners of rebellion; our enemies ſaw the ſucceſs of their ſchemes juſt about to be realized; the eyes of the real lovers of our country were turned on WASHINGTON. He ſtood collected in himſelf, like a rock in a tempeſtuous ſea, unmoved by the ſtorms of popular fury, that beat upon him. His judgment diſcerned the path of duty, and he purſued it. His enemies (for the enemies of his country were his) were confounded by his firm and manly con-

* A faction will at any time give up their country to a foreign power, rather than to the dominion of an oppoſite faction.

duct. The deluded were enlightened by his wiſdom, and with the ſteady friends of order and of peace again rallied round the ſtandard of the laws, and we were ſaved.

During the whole period of his adminiſtration, our beloved Chief Magiſtrate maintained the ſame uniform character for moderation, wiſdom, and firmneſs. His active genius was equally ſuited to the moſt enlarged views, and the minuteſt details of civil policy. By a ſolicitous examination of objections, and a judicious compariſon of oppoſite arguments, he attained a firm and unſhaken conviction on the many and various queſtions ſubmitted to his deciſion: but his firmneſs was without aſperity, and though inflexible, he was candid. He was a practical politician, and always conſidered experience, which is every day ſhowing the fallacy of the moſt plauſible theories, as the ſureſt ſtandard, and the beſt teſt of political truth.

Having ſpent forty-five years of his life in the ſervice of his country, he retired a ſecond time from the great theatre of action, and thus completed the luſtre of a character, before unrivalled by the coincidence of virtue, talents, ſucceſs, and public eſtimation; and afforded an example of moderation and magnanimity, no leſs rare than inſtructive to mankind.

Let us now follow our illuſtrious friend into the ſhade of private life. Of the generality of princes it has been remarked, that if ſtripped of their purple, and caſt naked into the world, they would ſink to the loweſt rank of ſociety, without a hope of emerging from obſcurity. It is perhaps no leſs true, that thoſe men, who have been diſtinguiſhed, and juſtly diſtinguiſhed, in the field and in the cabinet, are often found extremely deficient in thoſe talents and acquirements, which are uſeful and ornamental in private life. And how often has it happened, that ſplendid talents, though accompanied with great virtues, have been diſgraced by private vices. The character of WASHINGTON was uniform throughout. His merits were in a great

meaſure independent of his rank and fortune. His private virtues added luſtre and dignity to his public character. If his deſtiny had neither led him to the field, nor to the cabinet, he would have maintained the ſame ſuperiority in private, as he did in public life.

He inherited from nature a ſtrong and vigorous mind, which was cultivated by ſtudy, and more by meditation and reflection. His memory was remarkably retentive, and his judgment keen and penetrating.

As a proof of his title to no ſmall ſhare of literary fame, we need only refer to his writings, official and private, which are now before the public: they will be read with pleaſure, as long as the language in which they are written ſhall remain, as compoſitions, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for correctneſs, dignity, and elevation of thought, than for beauty, harmony, and elegance of expreſſion.

Of his virtues it may be ſaid, that they were the fruits of much cultivation beſtowed on a good ſoil.*

He very early acquired the power of ſubmitting his paſſions to his reaſon. He practiſed without effort, and almoſt without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and ſobriety. He was eminently diſtinguiſhed for prudence, moderation, and equanimity of ſoul. He deſerved the ſingular commendation, that inſtead of being corrupted by ſucceſs, his virtues always expanded with his fortune: the ſeaſon of his proſperity was that of his moderation.

Perhaps no man ever ſhared more largely in the public eſteem, or received more flattering marks of diſtinction; but was there ever one, who deſerved them better, or appreciated them more juſtly? His popularity was earned by virtuous deeds, and it was ſpent in the ſervice of virtue.

In diſpatch of buſineſs, his diligence was indefatigable. He was remarkable for obſerving the moſt perfect order, without too rigid adherence to method, in all

* This was remarked of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, between whom and WASHINGTON there was a ſtriking reſemblance.

his concerns, public and private. This nice arrangement of labour, and exact diſtribution of time, enabled him to tranſact an uncommon portion of buſineſs, and ſtill left him leiſure to enjoy the innocent pleaſures of life. With him, every hour had its duty, and every duty its hour. How delightful, that he could ſay at the cloſe of his life, *I have left nothing undone.*

His eaſy fortune, increaſed by his induſtry and active labours, afforded him the means, which he never failed to improve, of diſplaying his beneficence and generoſity to thoſe, who had any claims on his bounty, or who came within the enlarged circle of his acquaintance.

To act altogether from pure benevolence, or regard to the good of others, ſeems hardly compatible with human nature. The tenor of his whole life evinced, that neither vanity nor intereſt impelled him to action. Vanity it could not be; for who ſo modeſt and unaſſuming? It could not be intereſt; for though he declined no labour, he refuſed all pecuniary compenſation. If ambition fired his ſoul, it was a glorious ambition, for it ſaved his country.

The perſon as well as the mind of our departed Chief was enriched by nature with her choiceſt endowments. His ſtature was lofty, his countenance dignified, his deportment graceful, and his manners liberal, courteous and refined.

The moſt ſingular trait in the character and fortunes of this great man remains to be mentioned; he was neither capable of envy himſelf, nor the object of that paſſion in others. Can there be higher evidence of his ſuperior excellence? His character was conſidered as a ſort of public property; every member of the community had an intereſt in preſerving it inviolate.

Popular applauſe, of all the gifts in the power of fortune to beſtow, the moſt fickle and precarious, to him was conſtant, ſteady, and uniform as his virtues.

Of his patriotiſm I need not ſpeak. All virtues have their extremes. There is a patriotiſm too narrow; and

the philoſophy of the preſent day teaches one much too broad; it embraces all nations. There is alſo a love of liberty, which is diſorderly and tumultuous. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the patriotiſm of our WASHINGTON was an ardent love of his own country; and the liberty he adored was that of which government is the guardian.

I have reſerved for the laſt to ſpeak of the religious character of the deceaſed; becauſe, like the key-ſtone, which completes the arch, it is this which completes the luſtre of his unrivalled name.

We have ſeen that his private life was marked, in an eminent degree, with the practice of the moral virtues. The maxims he preſcribed for himſelf, as the baſis of his political conduct, will bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, when brought to the teſt of reaſon and morality.

He taught (and his own practice correſponded with his doctrine) that the foundation of national policy can be laid only in the pure and immutable principles of private morality: that there exiſts in the economy of nature an indiſſoluble union between duty and advantage, between genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and felicity: that the propitious ſmiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation, that diſregards the eternal laws of order and right, which Heaven itſelf has ordained.

In our country, there are few, who will heſitate to acknowledge the obligations we are under, to make the concerns of another world the governing principle of our lives in this; and that Chriſtianity is the higheſt ornament of human nature. WASHINGTON practiſed upon this belief. He publickly profeſſed the religion in which he was educated; and his life affords the beſt evidence of the purity of his principles, and the ſincerity of his faith.

He had all the genuine mildneſs of Chriſtianity with all its force. He was neither oſtentatious, nor aſhamed of his Chriſtian profeſſion. He purſued in this, as in

every thing elſe, the happy mean between the extremes of levity and gloomineſs, indifference and auſterity. His religion became him. He brought it with him into office, and he did not loſe it there. His firſt and his laſt official acts (as did all the intermediate ones) contained an explicit acknowledgment of the overruling providence of the Supreme Being; and the moſt fervent ſupplication for his benediction on our government and nation.

Without being charged with exaggeration, I may be permitted to ſay, that an accurate knowledge of his life, while it would confer on him the higheſt title to praiſe, would be productive of the moſt ſolid advantage to the cauſe of Chriſtianity.

I have omitted to ſpeak of the magnanimity of WASHINGTON, in accepting the command of our armies in a ſubordinate ſtation, when in his judgment the public good again required the ſacrifice of his private feelings; becauſe I cannot find words ſufficiently expreſſive of the admiration, with which his favoured country could not but view this laſt tranſcendent proof of his ardent love and inviolable regard.

There is, by the irrevocable decree of Heaven, a period fixed to human greatneſs and human glory. The time had now arrived, that WASHINGTON muſt die. He could not in the day of death diſgrace a character, ſupported by virtue and fortitude. He, who had lived without guilt, muſt die without remorſe. But I reckon it a public bleſſing, and deſerving our thanks to Almighty GOD, that he was called to this laſt encounter, in the full poſſeſſion and vigour of his mental powers. Highly favoured of Heaven, to him it was given, to meet the laſt enemy of man with the ſame firmneſs, the ſame fortitude, and the ſame reliance on heavenly aid, with which, during his life, he met the foes of his country. And who can doubt of his ſucceſs in this laſt engagement? At this awful moment he had the ſingular felicity, reſulting from a review of his well-ſpent life, that not a word had eſcaped his tongue, which a

wiſe man might not utter; not a ſentence dropped from his pen, which, dying he could wiſh to blot; not an action performed, which prudence could condemn, nor one omitted, which duty had enjoined.

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the inviſible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of theſe States, for raiſing up this able leader, who in war and in peace merited and poſſeſſed the uninterrupted confidence of the army and the citizens; and while the lives of other illuſtrious men have been glorious for themſelves, that it pleaſed Heaven to make his glorious for his country. While our hearts are torn with anguiſh at the afflictive diſpenſation of a holy Providence, which is the ſubject of this day's ſad ſolemnities, let us never forget, that his valuable life was preſerved, till a citizen was found worthy to ſucceed him. And what higher praiſe can be given to the enlightened patriot, who fills the chair of ſtate? Like WASHINGTON he was eminently inſtrumental in achieving our revolution. Devoted like WASHINGTON to the ſervice of that country, which his wiſdom has rendered illuſtrious, like him may he be honoured while living, and lamented in death by his grateful and affectionate countrymen.

If the happineſs of an unembodied ſpirit at all conſiſts in the poſſeſſion of felicitating ideas of the paſt, as doubtleſs it does, how great muſt be the happineſs of him, whoſe death we this day mourn? As the ſaviour of his country, great muſt be his crown of rejoicing. On earth he ſought no rewards, no ſtatues, no triumphs. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have ſerved to eclipſe the majeſty of thoſe virtues, which made him, from being a modeſt citizen, a more reſplendent luminary. But on earth he was not without his reward. His was the reward of ſucceſs attending all his patriotic labours; his the honeſt pride of virtue, and above all, the exquiſite delight of beholding the general happineſs, of which he was ſo eminently the author. In this aſſembly there cannot be found one

cold admirer of his virtues. If our country can furniſh one ſuch, is it too much to ſay, that he is no leſs cold to the deareſt intereſts of humanity, virtue and religion? But the tokens of affection for his pure character, the proofs of gratitude for his ſervices, and of reverence for his wiſdom and pre-eminent virtues, exhibited by every deſcription of perſons on this melancholy occaſion, will forever ſhew how greatly he was beloved, eſteemed and honoured by his country; and will ſerve to reſcue our nation from the reproach of ingratitude, which has been caſt on republics. He is now exalted above all earthly praiſe; we ſhall ſee his face no more. But the glory of his virtue will reach beyond the grave. When our riſing empire ſhall have riſen and ſunk again into ruin, it will live and continue to animate remoteſt ages.

To us it only remains, that we improve this afflicting diſpenſation of Divine Providence in a ſuitable manner; and this can only be done by a ſtrict obſervance of his admonitions, and the imitation of his excellent example.

Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretenſions to adviſe; but the counſels of our departed friend come recommended by additional claims to our regard. His laſt addreſs to his countrymen is the reſult of much wiſdom, collected from experience; it was dictated by the heart, and may be viewed as the dying words of a father to his children. Cultivate union and brotherly affection (it is thus he ſpeaks to us) that the ſacred fire of liberty may be preſerved, and the pre-eminence of the republican model of government exemplified, as that which ſecures to the people the greateſt portion of liberty, proſperity and happineſs. On this union, be aſſured, depends your peace abroad, your ſafety at home.

Moderate the fury of party ſpirit. It is this which diſturbs your public councils, and enfeebles your adminiſtration. Baniſh local prejudices as well as party

views. Cheriſh public credit, and for that end contribute to the public revenues, and cheerfully bear the public burthens.

Obſerve good faith and juſtice to all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Preſent to the world the example, as magnanimous as it is rare, of a people always guided by an exalted juſtice and benevolence.

Diſmiſs your inveterate hatred for ſome nations, and your paſſionate attachment for others. Theſe paſſions are alike deſtructive to your peace and independence. It would be credulity to expect, and degrading to accept, favours from any nation.

Againſt the inſidious wiles of foreign influence maintain a watchful and conſtant jealouſy. It is the deadly foe of republican governments. Guard no leſs ſtrenuouſly againſt the impoſtures of pretended patriots at home, than againſt the miſchiefs of foreign intrigue. It is eaſy for the worſt men to adopt the language of the virtuous, and for your greateſt enemies to aſſume the appearance of the moſt diſintereſted zeal for your intereſts, and the moſt ardent attachment for your perſons; while at the ſame time they are but the tools of foreign intrigue, and ſeeking their own perſonal aggrandizement at your expenſe. The means they employ to accompliſh their ends will ſerve to point out to you the perſons of this deſcription. Theſe means are no other, than the diſſemination of ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and calumnies againſt the beſt and moſt virtuous of your citizens; and that becauſe they poſſeſs, what they ſo juſtly deſerve, your favour and confidence.

But, above all, cheriſh and promote the intereſts of knowledge, virtue and religion. They are indiſpenſable to the ſupport of any free government, and in a peculiar manner to thoſe of the popular kind. Let it never be forgotten, that there can be no genuine freedom, where there is no morality, and no ſound morality, where there is no religion. Morality without religion will ſoon loſe its obligation, and religion without morality

will degenerate into ſuperſtition, which will corrupt inſtead of ameliorating the maſs, into which it is infuſed. Let no man have your confidence, who is deſtitute of either. Heſitate not a moment to believe, that the man who labours to deſtroy theſe two great pillars of human happineſs, theſe firmeſt props of the duties of men and citizens, whatever may be his profeſſions of patriotiſm, is neither a good patriot nor a good man.

If theſe ſolemn and momentous truths ſtood in any need of illuſtration, let him that doubts be pleaſed to recollect, that the experiment is making, I may ſay already made, of governing a nation without the aid of religion and without morality. Thoſe, who are pleaſed with the reſult of that experiment, are not to be convinced. To all others a volume could not ſo ably prove the indiſpenſable neceſſity of religion and morality, to the proſperity and happineſs of a nation.

May it pleaſe the Supreme Ruler of the univerſe and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, to make our happy country as diſtinguiſhed for the practice of piety and morality, as for the love of liberty and ſocial order; to ſpread his holy protection over theſe United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our union and independence; to enable us to triumph over external ſedition, and to put invaſion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that proſperity, which his goodneſs has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations, that this government, inſtituted under the auſpices of Heaven, ſhall long continue the aſylum of the oppreſſed, and a ſafeguard to human rights.

An Oration

ON THE DEATH OF

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Delivered at *ALL SAINT's PARISH*, (S. C.) on the 22d of *February*, 1800.

BY DOCTOR JOSEPH BLYTH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

SIXTY-EIGHT years are this day completed ſince the birth of GEORGE WASHINGTON, and this day we are aſſembled in the temple of GOD to pay the tribute of affection and reſpect due to the memory of the excellent citizen, the friend, the father of his country.

Behold! this day, and at this moment, thouſands and thouſands, in their numerous aſſemblies over this extended empire, are commemorating the exalted virtues, the heroic deeds of our deceaſed patriot; and pouring out their ſouls to the ALMIGHTY, in the keenneſs of ſorrow, for this irreparable loſs, this national calamity, this viſitation of the MOST HIGH.

America, covered with the mantle of grief, droops over the grave of her departed father, and the funeral pall of Columbia's pride, like a dark and ominous cloud, overſpreads our land.

Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the ſtreets. O! fleeting, tranſitory man, learn moderation and wiſdom from a ſenſe of thy fugitive ſtate! Now, indeed, is a time to weep: to reſtrain the burſting emotion would be falſe fortitude. Let the heart ſeek its relief in free effuſions of juſt and natural ſorrow. WASHINGTON was our companion in all the viciſſitudes of fortune; he was the ſolace of his coun-

try; he ſhared in all her joys, and he participated in all her misfortunes.

By the appointment of the CREATOR of mankind, the concluſion of life is an awful object; to reſtrain that awe within due bounds, that it do not interrupt us in performing the duties of life properly, is the diſtinction between the brave man and the coward. To ſurmount that awe, ſo that even the near approach of death ſhall not deject our mind or trouble our peace, is the preference which virtue enjoys above guilt. A profeſſed object of philoſophy and religion, in every age, has been to enable their votaries to conquer all ſlaviſh fear of death.

Although our WASHINGTON was attached to life by an ample ſtore of earthly felicity, and by all the natural feelings of humanity, yet he was raiſed above all weak and unmanly regret at parting with it. When Providence gave the ſignal for his removal, with compoſed reſolution and an undiſturbed mind, he bade adieu to the world: what Heaven had made neceſſary, WASHINGTON complied with cheerfully. Although he was interrupted in the midſt of his ſettled deſigns; although he was broken off in the midſt of the wiſe plans he had formed of being uſeful to his country; all theſe he left with reſignation and tranquillity in the hands of the Father of mercies, to whom he had ever been accuſtomed to look up—that divine goodneſs which had watched over him in all the perils of life; that all-wiſe Being, who had governed the world graciouſly and wiſely before he exiſted, and who he knew would continue to govern it with equal benignity and wiſdom, when he ſhould be in it no more.

The time of his departure was not of our choice, nor his own; but it was the time appointed by Him who cannot err. Honourable age is not that which ſtandeth in length of time; but wiſdom is grey hairs to a man, and an unſpotted life is old age. He who is unwilling to ſubmit to death, when Heaven decrees it, deſerves not to have lived. When our WASHING-

TON beheld his friends and relatives around him, his heart melted, but was not overpowered; the retroſpection of a virtuous life, the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and a hope of future felicity, gave him compoſure and fortitude; and in the midſt of theſe agonies, when the duſt is about to return to its duſt, with firmneſs and dignity he reſigned the ſpirit to GOD who gave it. He had ſerved his country with fidelity; he had walked piouſly before his GOD; he had completed his career of glory and virtue; he departed with the bleſſings of the whole American people, and the tears of grateful millions have embalmed his memory.

How reſpectable and happy is ſuch a concluſion of human life! thus to quit the ſtage, honoured and revered by his country, ſupported by the preſence of his CREATOR, and enjoying, until the laſt moments of reflection, the pleaſing thoughts that he had not lived in vain.

May each of us ſo act our part through the journey of life, that when we come to meet the king of terrors, we may be buoyed up with ſuch reflections; and in that journey, may we all as far as poſſible follow the example of our deceaſed friend.

Our beloved WASHINGTON, in the third deſcent from Engliſh anceſtors, was born in the county of Weſtmoreland, in Virginia, on the 11th of February, 1732, old ſtyle. He was the firſt fruits of a ſecond marriage; and when but ten years of age, had the misfortune to loſe his father: his mother ſurvived until a few years ago. What maternal ſatisfaction muſt the aged matron have enjoyed, from the conſideration of having given birth to the man of ſuch conſummate worth, of ſuch unſpotted fame! His education was principally conducted by a private tutor; he ſoon, however, ſeized the great objects of erudition—ſkill in the ſciences, and a ſtrict adherence to the moral duties, without ſubmitting to that tedious drudgery neceſſary for leſs active genius. By means of a vigorous, penetrating mind, with the ſtudy of good models, he ſoon

acquired an elegant, pure, nervous ſtyle. By ſurveying lands, the occaſional occupation of his early life, he gave vigour and activity to his body, and acquired and cultivated that kind of mathematical knowledge, which proved very uſeful to him afterwards in far higher ſtations. At fifteen years of age, he was entered a midſhipman on board a Britiſh ſhip of war, then ſtationed on the coaſts of Virginia; but his mother's reluctance to that profeſſion prevented him from ever going to ſea. Before he attained his twentieth year, he had an appointment with the rank of Major, in the department of Adjutant-General, which office had been held for ſome time before by his eldeſt brother. This brother was a young man of the moſt promiſing talents; he had commanded in the colonial troops employed againſt Carthagena, and afterwards held the office of Adjutant-General of Virginia. From this brother, and in this office, the future hero of America received the firſt rudiments of that military knowledge, which has ſince aſtoniſhed the world; from this brother (who died about this time) he inherited Mount Vernon, (ſo called after the Admiral of that name) the ſeat of our deceaſed friend's fondeſt predilection. In the office of Adjutant-General, and in the embaſſy in which he was ſhortly after employed; the journal and reports of Major WASHINGTON announced to the world that prodigious genius, that correctneſs of mind, that manlineſs of ſtyle, and that accuracy in buſineſs, which have ſince characterized him in conducting more arduous affairs. Let the brave youths of Columbia, who anticipate the enjoyment of many years in their natal ſoil, imitate the early example of WASHINGTON. When he was but twenty-one years of age, he devoted his labour, his life to the ſervice of his country. She was inſulted by a foreign foe, "all ſate mute, pondering on the danger with deep thought, and in other's countenance read his own diſmay." WASHINGTON nobly ſtepped forth and offered her his beſt ſervices. For hundreds of miles he explored the pathleſs deſert,

the habitation of ſavage beaſts, and of more ſavage men! His taſk accompliſhed, although unſucceſsful his toils, he returned ſafe amidſt the applauſe of his grateful countrymen.

In the war which ſucceeded, his prudence ſaved his country's armies; his valour checked her foes. In a ſituation which required the coolneſs and deliberation of an experienced veteran; when unrelenting carnage drenched the field of battle; when victorious ſavages, with appalling yells, gave looſe to their vindictive rage, the active exertions of the youthful WASHINGTON rallied and brought off in ſafety the ſcattered and flying remains of the ill-fated Braddock's army. The volunteer aid, the brave Colonel WASHINGTON, was the only officer doing duty on horſeback that day, who was not either killed or wounded. In ſucceeding expeditions, the war was more ſucceſsful, and our young hero exhibited the talents of a General in many embarraſſing ſcenes. When tranquillity was reſtored, our young citizen ſoldier, crowned with laurels, returned to his native home. With theſe early preſages of future greatneſs, can the ſpirit of prophecy be aſcribed to Preſident Davies, when he hazarded an opinion, in a public ſermon, that "Divine Providence was raiſing this youth for the ſalvation of his country?"

In the year 1759, when he reſigned his command, authentic documents will ſhew the tender regret of the Virginia line at parting with their Commander, and his affectionate regard for them.

Our hero ſettled ſoon after as a farmer in the peaceful ſhades of Mount Vernon; he married the amiable object of his affection, a lady of his own age; and there, under his own vine and his own fig-tree, his hands fraught with the bounties of Heaven, the fruits of his own induſtry, he cultivated the arts of peace: conſtantly and faithfully diſcharging the duties of a magiſtrate, a judge of the county court, and a member of the legiſlature, until the year 1774, when he was elected a delegate to the firſt Congreſs.

The Omnipotent, "who bids predeſtined empires riſe and fall," generally employs the agency of ſecondary cauſes for the execution of his decrees. In the year 1774, the Britiſh rulers completed their ſyſtem of tyrannizing over the Colonies: from the year 1764, the uſurpations of that government had excited the indignation of every American. Our chartered and moſt ſacred rights and privileges were annulled and altered at their will; we were held amenable to laws made, and for payment of taxes impoſed, without our conſent. The adminiſtration of juſtice was obſtructed, and her fountains polluted: her pure ermine was ſullied by the unrighteous decrees and immoral conduct of unworthy individuals, clothed in her ſolemn garb. We were held to trial at foreign tribunals for pretended offences, and the trial by jury of our peers was denied us: we were haraſſed by ſwarms of civil officers, and oppreſſed by ſtanding armies in times of peace, and the military independent of and ſuperior to the civil powers. The hard earnings of honeſt induſtry were wrung from us, by impoſitions and taxes, eſtabliſhed upon principles incompatible with the unalienable rights of freemen. Severities, extortions and claims were impoſed upon us, to which none but ſlaves could ſubmit. In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions, we petitioned for redreſs in moſt humble terms: our repeated petitions were anſwered only by repeated injuries and inſults. The indignant ſpirit of the Americans was at length rouſed to a noble oppoſition; every other means proving vain, they were at length urged on to the diſtreſſing alternative of chooſing one of two great evils;* either to enliſt themſelves and their unborn poſterity, unconditional ſlaves, or to brave the horrors of war. Under every diſadvantage, they reſolutely determined on the latter; and after ſolemnly appealing to GOD and the

* "Our houſes being conſtructed of brick, ſtone or wood, though deſtroyed, may be rebuilt; but liberty once gone, is loſt forever," was an obſervation made in Congreſs by C. Gadſdon, of South Carolina.

world, for the juſtice of their cauſe, and ſupported by the rectitude of their principles, they bravely preferred to ſuffer preſent hardſhips and encounter preſent dangers, to a dereliction of the bleſſings of freedom.

For deviſing meaſures beſt adapted to the preſervation of their endangered liberties, they called together their moſt enlightened patriots to form a Congreſs; by thus acting in totality, with concert of wills, they gave dignity, ſtability and conſiſtency to their determinations.

In this Congreſs, for firmneſs, for patriotiſm and wiſdom, ever to be renowned, WASHINGTON was preeminent; his moderation and his wiſdom contributed amply to the ſtability and the propriety of the meaſures which were adopted. All pacific means, however, failed; our tyrants proceeded to compel us to ſubmiſſion by military force. This meaſure highly inflamed the American mind; the ferment increaſed, all hope of reconciliation vaniſhed: on each ſide the ſword was whetted. Theſe combuſtibles ſhortly after blazed into a conflagration at Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775. In this dilemma, Congreſs aſſembled the brave, but untutored ſons of America. In the choice of a General, the fitteſt to command them, there was but one voice, and that voice was for the brave WASHINGTON. In caſes of danger, pride and envy naturally ſubſide, and leave the poſt of honour to virtue. He was ſo well known by the happy conduct of his youth, in the former war, that his merit commanded unanimity. He accepted the appointment with that degree of modeſty which ever accompanies ſuperior talents, declaring with the utmoſt ſincerity, that he did not think himſelf equal to the command with which he had been honoured.

On the 3d of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon the duties of his high and important ſtation. With never-ceaſing gratitude, America will admire the patient, accommodating, energetic mind of her WASHINGTON, who in a ſhort time, and in view of a well appointed veteran army, converted an undiſci-

plined militia into a regularly organized force, capable of joining the combat with an enemy, ſuperior in every thing but valour. WASHINGTON appeared to poſſeſs an intuitive knowledge of the human character; with a diſcerning eye he diſtinguiſhed and choſe men moſt capable of performing the various functions of every department.

In 1776, we learned with the keeneſt diſtreſs, that the unnatural parent ſtate had not only refuſed to redreſs our grievances already complained of, but had alſo declared the Colonies out of her protection, and employed foreign mercenaries to aſſiſt in effecting their conqueſt and ſubjugation. Already were our ſeas plundered, our coaſts ravaged, our towns burnt, and many of our lives deſtroyed. Common ſenſe taught the Americans, that protection and allegiance were reciprocal; and that Great-Britain had abdicated the government of America, and forfeited all right ever after to govern her; and therefore, on the 4th of July, 1776, the repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the univerſe for the rectitude of their intentions, did ſolemnly publiſh and declare, that the ſaid States were, and of right ought to be, free and independent; that they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, and to do all other acts and things, which independent States might of right do; and for the ſupport of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their moſt ſacred honour.

The declaration of independence, and the manifeſto, ſtating our grievances, and the reaſons for determining on a final ſeparation; and that we would hold the people of Great-Britain, as the reſt of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends," will be pronounced a treaſure of political knowledge, as long as language, the tongue of the world, ſhall exiſt.

Some well-meaning individuals, however, whoſe ſouls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, ſhrunk from theſe laudable and neceſſary meaſures; the ſage and heroic WASHINGTON heartily adopted them, becauſe he ſaw they were founded in wiſdom and right; and on the 9th of July, 1776, he cauſed the declaration of independence to be proclaimed before the army. With pleaſure he ſaw both officers and men give their moſt hearty aſſent, and by their behaviour teſtify their warmeſt approbation of it. "It behoves us," ſaid he, "to adopt ſuch counſels, as under the ſmiles of a gracious and all kind Providence will be moſt likely to promote our happineſs: I truſt theſe deciſive meaſures are calculated for that end, and will ſecure us that freedom and thoſe privileges, which have been and are refuſed to us, contrary to the voice of nature and the Britiſh Conſtitution."

The conteſt now aſſumed an importance, to which it was not before entitled. It was no longer ſubjects contending with their ſovereign; it was one free and independent nation at war with another.

In conducting this war, a bare relation of facts will be the higheſt encomium on the military ſkill of our General, and on the valour and patriotiſm of his brave army. He never ſuffered the enemy to force him into action contrary to his judgment, nor could they ever elude his enterpriſing vigilance, when an opportunity offered of attacking them with advantage. When preſſed, no General knew better how to extricate himſelf, by manœuvres combining intrepidity with precaution. He ever attacked like a hero, and retreated like a General, always preſenting a point to the enemy. Such, my fellow-citizens, was the General whoſe death we this day deplore. He was dreaded by the enemy, beloved by the citizens, and adored by the army, thoſe brave defenders of their country; who, amidſt all the accumulated wants and wretchedneſs the human mind can imagine, often without food, money or clothing, in the moſt inclement ſeaſons, nobly perſevered until

they ſecured that liberty we now enjoy. With equanimity and magnanimous firmneſs he purſued the object of the war, himſelf equal to the extremes of either fortune, never depreſſed by diſaſters, nor elated by victory; and when dictatorial powers were committed to his truſt, he ſeized the firſt proper occaſion to ſurrender them into the hands of the repreſentatives of the ſovereign people who had given them.

See him employing his laſt moments of authority over the revolutionary army, not in recounting the ſcenes of glory through which he had led them; but with a patriotiſm, unparalleled in hiſtory, admoniſhing them to crown their military fame by acting well the part of citizens.

To diſband an army, ſore from paſt neglect, and inured to the chance of war, which had not received the compenſation promiſed as the reward of their valour, as the price of their blood and our independence, could have been accompliſhed by none but their beloved WASHINGTON. The truly pathetic feelings of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than on his taking a final leave of his companions in arms. That illuſtrious band, whoſe blood and whoſe bravery ſaved their country, poſterity will admire; and the perpetual ebb of time will not diminiſh that admiration.

"With an heart full of love and gratitude," ſaid he, "I now take leave of you; I moſt devoutly wiſh that your latter days may be as proſperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." "That the duty of a ſoldier is not completed until he has acted well the part of a citizen," was the maxim of WASHINGTON: let this have a due influence upon every American. When the citizen ſoldier ſhall ceaſe to adhere to this maxim, then ſhall America bow her neck to the galling yoke of tyranny. When his ſkill and his valour had thus exalted and ſaved his country, and made her the happieſt and freeſt on earth, behold

the man of the people retiring to the peaceful ſhades of private life, amidſt the prayers and acclamations of his grateful countrymen. Let us view the victorious leader of our armies, having fully accompliſhed the purpoſes of his appointment, reſigning his commiſſion into the hands of Congreſs, with a modeſty equal to the diffidence with which he had received it. The ſcene was truly auguſt, and worthy being held up as an example to men in power in every quarter of the globe. Behold him, with ſcrupulous accuracy, accounting for every cent that had ever paſſed through his hands; and without aſking or receiving a ſingle pecuniary boon for himſelf, like another Cincinnatus, returning to the plough.

Let us for a moment contraſt this ſcene with thoſe through which he had juſt paſſed. Various and keen muſt have been his anxieties, during the viciſſitudes of that conteſt, which his wiſdom and moderation had thus brought to ſo happy a concluſion. Sublime were the talents he diſplayed in thoſe awful hours, when the "big war raged dreadfully glorious;" in thoſe tremendous ſcenes, when death-fraught balls, irreſiſtible as fate, fell in ſhowers around him. Illuſtrious hero! the accompliſhment of this immortal work has exalted thy character to the pinnacle of glory; thy deeds have immortalized thy fame; ages to come ſhall revere thy memory; unborn millions ſhall bleſs the arm that wielded the ſword of American freedom; for thee this day thy country mourns.

The virtuous ſimplicity of his private life will add luſtre to his public character. He was plain in his addreſs and manners, affable and attentive to all around him; no man underſtood better the dependency of happineſs upon virtue. He was pious, juſt, humane, temperate and ſincere; vice ſhuddered and virtue was ever cheriſhed in his preſence. He was a man of confirmed good habits. To apply life, at beſt but ſhort, to the moſt uſeful purpoſes, it was his unvarying cuſ-

tom to riſe before the ſun.* Through the day he huſbanded every moment to the beſt advantage; ſyſtem and economy pervaded every apartment; under his own roof was manufactured almoſt all that was uſed by his numerous houſehold; but to acquire and communicate practical knowledge in agriculture was his favourite purſuit. He received rare ſeeds, and the reſult of new experiments, from every quarter; he made ſuch copious notes on his own experiments, on the ſtate of the ſeaſons, on the nature of ſoils, and on the effects of different kinds of manure, as will throw great light on the farming buſineſs. Such, my friends, was the rural ſimplicity of the life of WASHINGTON, for whom our nation mourns.

The penetrating mind of General WASHINGTON had diſcovered, before he retired from command, the inefficiency of the Confederation to anſwer completely the purpoſes of either peace or war. He had already ſaid, in his circular letter to the Governors of the different States, "If the citizens of America ſhould not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own; the cup of bleſſing is reached out to them; happineſs is theirs, if they ſeize the occaſion, and make it their own: yet there is an option left, whether the United States will be reſpectable and proſperous,

* It was his cuſtom to riſe at dawn of day, and to read or write until breakfaſt; which he uſually made on three ſmall hoe cakes and as many diſhes of tea. From breakfaſt until his hour of dreſſing for dinner, he uſually employed in viſiting his different farms. He commonly dined on a ſingle diſh, and drank five or ſix glaſſes of wine; this, with a glaſs of punch or beer, and tea before ſun-down, conſtituted his whole ſuſtenance until next day. His table was daily prepared for company, whether he had them or not. After dinner, it was his cuſtom to paſs an hour at table in convivial converſation. He perfectly reliſhed a ſally of wit or a pleaſant ſtory; and after this ſociable and innocent relaxation, he applied himſelf to buſineſs until about nine o'clock, when he retired to reſt. This was his family routine; but when company were preſent, he politely attended them until they wiſhed to withdraw. Much of his time was neceſſarily devoted to the literary characters, both in Europe and America, who were ambitious of his correſpondence, as well as to the peruſal of newſpapers, periodical publications, and other literary productions, ſent him by the authors on both ſides of the Atlantic; and to the inveſtigation of natural curioſities and mechanical inventions, ſubmitted to his approbation. With the utmoſt benignity did he take notice of this vaſt variety of ſubjects, which claimed his attention.

or contemptible and miſerable as a nation." "Give to the Federal Government," ſaid he, "ſuch a tone as will enable it to anſwer the ends of its inſtitution. If you relax its powers, you will annihilate the cement of ſociety, and expoſe yourſelves, the ſport of European politics. Let liberty be the baſis, and independence the ſuperſtructure of your government; and whoever ſhall dare to ſap the foundation, or overturn the ſuperſtructure, under whatever ſpecious pretext the attempt be made, let him receive the bittereſt execrations, the ſevereſt puniſhment his injured country can inflict. Whatever meaſures have a tendency to diſſolve the Union, or violate or leſſen the ſovereign authority, ought to be conſidered as hoſtile to liberty and independence, and the authors of them treated accordingly." A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the ſocial compact, and a conſtant adherence to thoſe of piety, juſtice, moderation, temperance, induſtry and frugality, are abſolutely neceſſary to the preſervation of liberty, and the maintenance of a free government. Let the people pay particular attention to theſe principles in the choice of their officers and repreſentatives. "Let (ſaid he) a pacific and friendly diſpoſition prevail; make mutual conceſſions for the general good, and when neceſſary, ſacrifice individual advantage for the intereſt of the community. According to the policy of the General Government you will ſtand or fall, and with your confirmation or lapſe it will be decided, whether the revolution will ultimately prove a bleſſing or a curſe; not to the preſent generation alone, for with their fate will the deſtiny of unborn millions be involved. Unleſs you preſerve your governments ſo free and uncorrupted, and ſo happily guarded againſt oppreſſion, as to enable you to participate the fruits of the revolution, by enjoying the eſſential benefits of civil liberty, it will be a ſubject of regret that ſo much blood and treaſure have been laviſhed to no purpoſe; that ſo many ſufferings have been encountered without a compenſation, and ſo many ſacrifices made in vain."

The painful experience of four years verified the truth of theſe obſervations, and convinced us of the neceſſity of an efficient government. It was diſcovered that liberty, without an efficient and rational government, was only a licenſe for the ſtrong to trample upon the weak. The union of the States was ſuſpended by a thread; public credit was deſtroyed; our laws were lifeleſs; confuſion, difficulty and danger hung over us.

Sacred ſhades of our departed heroes! was it for this order of things your precious blood was ſhed? Was it to ſubſtitute anarchy that ye annihilated monarchy; that ye endured with patience ſo much diſtreſs; that ye ſurmounted ſo many difficulties? Surely it was not: it was to eſtabliſh a republican government, ſo conſtituted, as to allow the ungovernable licenſe to none, and to extend ſalutary protection to all.

Here again did America exhibit one of thoſe mighty ſpectacles, which none but republics can imitate: four millions of people, by their repreſentatives, forming, arranging, and poiſing with deliberation and coolneſs, the mighty limits of the federal and ſtate governments; and accommodating, with a ſpirit of amity, the diverſified intereſts of a vaſt empire. Of this illuſtrious Convention, our WASHINGTON was Preſident.

To give ſtability and dignity to a government, and at the ſame time to leave every individual the full enjoyment of all his rights, comporting with the good of the whole, has been reſerved by the Almighty Legiſlator of heaven for the fortunate genius of the Americans. Our Conſtitution of government is the production of our deliberate choice; in it is diſplayed the majeſty of the people; by their valour the people obtained the right to govern themſelves. In their wiſdom they choſe a time of peace and tranquillity to deliberate upon the plan, and with the examples of ancient and modern governments before them, they wiſely adopted our happy Federal Conſtitution. The plan was firſt digeſted

by a band of tried patriots, of able ſtateſmen, elected by the free choice of the people. Here was concentrated in truth and in fact, the wiſdom, the integrity of a nation. After mature deliberation; after balancing all conſiderations, local and general, the plan was propoſed to the people at large: it was publiſhed for the approbation or diſapprobation of every one intereſted in it; after which, by a ſecond free election, perſons were appointed in each State to re-conſider it, and empowered finally to adopt or reject it. Under all theſe cautions and ſcrutinies, has it been ratified and confirmed; and we have felt the happy effects of it, and ſhall continue to feel them, as long as we retain our virtuous principles; but an abandoned and profligate people can never be happy.

The wiſdom and experience of WASHINGTON had a principal ſhare in forming that valuable depoſitory of our independence and happineſs, which has cemented our union, reſtored our credit, eſtabliſhed juſtice, and inſured, as far as human wiſdom can inſure, to us and to our poſterity, the bleſſings of freedom; that Conſtitution which has enabled us to aſſume our proper ſtation among the nations of the earth.

The illuſtrious hero, whoſe prudence and whoſe valour had ſaved his country, was called by the unanimous voice of the American people, to preſide in the adminiſtration of this Conſtitution. Here again we behold him, ſacrificing domeſtic eaſe and rural tranquillity to the imperious call of his country. In this exalted ſtation, his enlightened and magnanimous policy gave her an elevated rank in the ſcale of nations; the plots of intriguers and appearances of revolt were detected by his vigilance, and ſuppreſſed by his power. To conciliate peace with all the world, to check every deviation from the line of impartiality, to explain what might have been miſunderſtood, and to correct what might have been injurious to any nation, was the policy ſteadily purſued by the wiſe WASHINGTON. By his arm were the hoſtile ſavages vanquiſhed, and through

his humanity was their condition meliorated. The prudent neutrality which he adopted, and to which he adhered with inflexible firmneſs, has preſerved us from becoming parties in a deſtructive war, by which ſome of the faireſt provinces in Europe have been deluged with blood, and ruin ſpread far and wide, over all quarters of the globe. Through his ſound and honeſt policy, perſevered in at the expenſe of no duty, America, ever faithful to herſelf, exhibits a ſpectacle of national happineſs never ſurpaſſed, if ever before equalled by any nation.

Before the expiration of his laſt preſidential term, he gave us his paternal advice, which, if duly attended to, will forever preſerve to us the inheritance of freedom. Let us purſue this advice, and never depart from it; it is addreſſed to us all; it is addreſſed to every American. "Let the union of the States," ſaid our deceaſed WASHINGTON, "and the reciprocity of intereſts be the ground-work of your political exiſtence; let the illiberal ſpirit of party be baniſhed forever from among you; let juſt and amicable feelings, devoid of all partialities and antipathies, regulate your conduct with all nations; guard againſt the interference of foreign nations in your internal concerns." In this advice, our WASHINGTON ſtill lives; in this bequeſt of the father of our country, to the whole American people, our WASHINGTON will forever live, in the hearts and minds of all patriots over the whole globe; and his venerable name will deſcend, with unfading glory, down the perpetual ſucceſſion of time, through ages of ages.

After having twice ſerved as Preſident, he again retired to the ſeat of his fondeſt predilection, to the purſuits of domeſtic life, and the ſociety of his friends. Here it was the wiſh of his heart to paſs the remainder of his days in peaceful repoſe; but, alas! this interval was of ſhort duration. A ſtorm had ariſen in a diſtant nation, whoſe ſympathy with us in the hour of diſtreſs merited and received our warmeſt gratitude. With

pride and approbation did America ſee that nation, to which ſhe had taught the firſt leſſons of liberty, contending zealouſly for the attainment of it. Never did one nation ſympathize more cordially with another, than America did with France, when ſhe firſt engaged in that taſk, which we had but juſt accompliſhed. This national harmony, founded in good offices, and ſtrengthened by a ſimilarity of purſuits, it was fondly hoped would be perpetual; but from cauſes beyond our control, it has proved otherwiſe. The ambitious rulers of that unhappy nation, overſtepping the bounds of moderation and juſtice, made enormous and degrading demands upon our gratitude. Forgetting the reſpect due to a ſiſter republic, they violated the rights of neutrality, obſtructed and haraſſed our commerce, contrary to exiſting treaties. By the inſidious intrigues and diplomatic ſkill of their agents, they tried every artifice to create diſunion among us; and in the intoxication of victory, they contemptuouſly inſulted our miniſters of peace. Knowing that every conceſſion, indicative of fear or weakneſs, would but prove an incentive to new and more degrading demands, the neceſſity was impoſed upon us of putting ourſelves in the moſt proper poſition to meet the laſt extremity. Again did Vernon's virtuous veteran, ſolicited by the voice of his country, that voice which he never could reſiſt, gird on his ſword and prepare him for the defence of his country's rights. In this attitude was he taken from us, by Him who decides upon the fate of mortals, and this day we deplore our loſs. He will no more lead our armies to victory, he will no more diffuſe wiſdom in our councils. Often have we omitted to expreſs the real feelings of our ſouls, leſt we ſhould be thought to flatter; but now, alas! who ſhall flatter the dead? If we ſay that we loved and revered him as a father, we ſpeak the language of our own hearts, we ſpeak the language of all who fought, who ſuffered and who conquered under him; of all who now enjoy the

fruits of his toils in the field, of his wiſdom in the cabinet.

Nature does not always obſerve a due proportion between the endowments of the mind and body; but in this he was peculiarly her favourite. With a mind coextenſive with every object, ſhe gave him a comely, majeſtic perſon, well proportioned, tall and active; with regular manly features, a very intereſting countenance and penetrating eye; his deportment was eaſy and graceful, with an air of benevolence and dignity; his conſtitution, naturally good, was by temperance and exerciſe preſerved ſound to an advanced age. With pure and upright intentions, he poſſeſſed a correct, ſound judgment; with great calmneſs and deliberation in forming determinations, an invincible firmneſs and perſeverance in the execution of them. His abilities and courage were equal to objects of the firſt magnitude; uninfluenced by prejudice, and with integrity incorruptible, did he guide the helm of ſtate, did he direct the ſtorm of war. His orders, letters and ſpeeches, and above all, his two farewell addreſſes, (to repeat which is the pride of every orator) will be laſting teſtimonies of the goodneſs of his heart, and of the eloquence of his pen.*—But, alas! our benefactor is now gone the way of all fleſh, and we can but deplore our loſs: the time is unfortunate; but thy will be done, O! thou Father of ſpirits.

And now, my fellow-citizens, ſhall I claim your attention a moment, in taking a comparative view of our flouriſhing ſtate at this period, with our wretched condition when our WASHINGTON took the command of our armies? Sole lords and proprietors of a vaſt tract of continent, comprehending all the various ſoils and climates of the world, abounding in all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, we are poſſeſſed of abſolute freedom and independence. The actors on a moſt conſpicuous theatre, which ſeems peculiarly deſigned by

* "Fit words attended on his weighty ſenſe,
And mild perſuaſion flow'd in eloquence."

Providence for the diſplay of human greatneſs and felicity, ſurrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of domeſtic enjoyment; Heaven has crowned all its other bleſſings, by affording a fairer opportunity for political happineſs, than any other nation has ever enjoyed. Here the rights of mankind are more clearly defined, and better underſtood, than in any other quarter of the globe; our laws are made equitably, expounded impartially, and executed faithfully. Here no gloomy ſeperſtition reigns, no ſubordination of one ſect or denomination to any other: every one, who acknowledges the being of a God, is entitled to every civil right, at liberty to enjoy his own religious profeſſions, and to worſhip God in the manner and ſeaſon moſt agreeable to the dictates of his conſcience: Here the reſearches of the human mind after ſocial happineſs, are carried to a great extent. The treaſures of knowledge, acquired by philoſophers, ſages and legiſlators, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, are here laid open for uſe, and their collected wiſdom happily applied in our forms of government. The cultivation of letters, the unbounded extenſion of commerce, and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have ſhed their meliorating influence over us, increaſed the bleſſings of ſociety, refined our manners, and liberalized our ſentiments.

This, my fellow-citizens, is a ſketch of that happy ſtate in which the labours of your WASHINGTON have had a principal inſtrumentality in placing you: does it not become us to deplore the loſs of the citizen, who had this high agency, under Providence, in producing our now happy ſtate—who ſpent ſo many anxious days and watchful nights in obtaining our freedom—who conſumed the prime of his long and valuable life in the ſervice of his country? A due adherence to his precepts will inſure our political ſalvation, and be no bar to our eternal felicity.

Let the young man who aſpires to merit the love of his country, contemplate the youth of WASHINGTON,

and let him go and do likewiſe; the road to greatneſs lies open to all, the opportunities of many are ſuperior to his. Let the farmer imitate him, and he will become proſperous and opulent; let the relative imitate him, and he will live comfortable and happy; the military man need not be informed, that WASHINGTON's character is the great model of military merit; the enlightened ſtateſman will do well to imitate his example, and to follow his precepts. They are the precepts of wiſdom, uttered in the undiſguiſed language of freedom and ſincerity; and dictated by the rectitude of a heart, which diſdained unworthy motives: that heart is now mingled with the duſt!

This indeed is a day of mourning. South-Carolina has a twofold cauſe of grief! The ſame omnipotent hand, which has removed the father of our country, has ſince deprived us of the not leſs virtuous, though more limited ſervices of our beloved RUTLEDGE. To our affliction this gives double poignancy—we feel as men, as friends, and as citizens; but let us not deſpair. That beneficent Power, who, with a guardian hand, conducted us through the gloomy horrors of revolutionary conflict, and has placed us on the ſolid baſis of independence and happineſs; who, to anſwer the great purpoſes of his moral government, has taken from us a WASHINGTON, a MIFFLIN, a HENRY, and a RUTLEDGE, will never leave us deſtitute of heroes in the field—of ſages in the cabinet.

An Oration

ON THE SUBLIME VIRTUES OF

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *PORTLAND, February* 22, 1800, by Appointment of the Selectmen, agreeable to the Vote of the Town.

BY ISAAC PARKER.

SOME weeks, my reſpected fellow-citizens, have elapſed, ſince you were afflicted with the melancholy aſſurance, that the man whoſe virtues and whoſe talents you have ſo long been accuſtomed to revere, had paid the laſt ſad debt of nature.

To the impulſe of that moment I appeal for teſtimony, that no public misfortune could have occurred equally intereſting to your feelings. Your immediate ſuſpenſion of the ordinary occupations of life, witneſſed the ſincerity of your grief; and your general reſort to the *temple* of the MOST HIGH, teſtified that under the ſenſe of a great national calamity, you *there* ſought a conſolation which the world could not afford.

Numberleſs have been the effuſions of grief and reſpect which have ſpontaneouſly iſſued from every diviſion of our country on this diſtreſſing event; not a city or village in this extended empire but has devoted its day to the contemplation of the ſublime virtues of their departed benefactor: and yet, ſo deeply are we intereſted to view and review the life and character of the illuſtrious and beloved WASHINGTON, ſo intimately were his virtues connected with the general and individual happineſs of the people of America, that *this day* alſo, conſecrated to his memory by the ſupreme council of the nation, will be obſerved with unfeigned ſolemnity and reſpect.

What a ſad picture of human life, its proſpects, its honours, and its ſplendour, does this day preſent to our view !—Hitherto it has ranked high in the bright regiſter of American feſtivals ; ſecond only to the glorious epoch of our independence, and celebrated as the natal day of him by whoſe inſtrumentality that independence was ſecured. But, alas ! it is now devoted to the ſolemn and affecting purpoſe of lamenting the death of him, who has ſo long been the object of its hilarity and mirth.

Could a nation's tears have arreſted the fatal malady which extinguiſhed a life ſo invaluable ; could ſuch tranſcendent virtues have given claim to an exemption from the common doom of man ; the hours we now devote to humble reverence of an afflicting Providence, would have appeared in their uſual gaiety ; and your hearts, now ſaddened with grief, would have felt thoſe ſenſations of gratitude and joy, which this anniverſary has hitherto been calculated to inſpire.

If, as has been beautifully intimated by an eloquent heathen, ſuperior intelligencies can find gratification in the view of human magnanimity ſtruggling with diſtreſs, the auguſt ſpectacle of a nation paying its undivided tribute of reſpect to departed virtue, will be contemplated with no leſs complacency and delight. The ſolemn mockery of wo, which the people of other nations have aſſumed on the death of their tyrant or his favourite, with faces that ill conceal their joy at the event they affect to mourn ; contraſted with the deep, ſincere and univerſal demonſtrations of regret, which our national bereavement has produced, exhibits as ſtrong a diſſimilarity, as exiſts between the character of thoſe who have heretofore excited the admiration of mankind, and of him whoſe loſs we ſo unaffectedly deplore.

Conqueſts, for no end but the aggrandizement of their achiever ; victories, in which no public good juſtified the ſacrifice of blood ; triumphs, which were a diſplay of the moſt ferocious inhumanity, have raiſed, in

the view of a weak and faſcinated multitude, the conquerors and heroes of antiquity to a rank above mortality. And the characters of theſe fell deſtroyers of their race have been ſelected, by the corrupt judgment of moderns, as patterns for imitation and applauſe.

Strange as may ſeem the aſſertion, hiſtory inconteſtably proves its truth, that the ſucceſsful exerciſe of thoſe paſſions, whoſe operation are the moſt baleful to human nature, has commanded the admiration if not the eſteem of mankind in every age of the world. The ſcience of deſtruction, the arts of deſolation and ruin, have ſecured to their fortunate profeſſors the moſt elevated ſeat in the temple of honour; and the blind and deluded populace, whoſe blood and whoſe treaſure have been exhauſted to attain this unmerited exaltation, have ſtupidly fallen down and worſhipped the idol their miſeries created.

That celebrated maniac who ſwam in the blood of nations, and ſported with the lives of his ſubjects to feed an inſatiable thirſt of fame; for the honour of mankind, inſtead of being held up to the wonder and applauſe of the world, ſhould have been delivered over to its execration and contempt. But ſuch are the wayward propenſities of man—ſo much do the ſplendid take rank of the uſeful qualities, in his eſtimation, that the inebriated incendiary of Perſepolis, and murderer of the friend who ſaved his life, received divine honours from his cotemporaries, and is ſtill the idol of faſhionable adoration; while the benevolent peregrinations of a Howard, to relieve human wretchedneſs, and abate the rigour of misfortune, have met, it is true, the cold applauſe of the virtuous, but never perhaps will excite even *their* emulation.

Thanks be to Heaven, the man whom it ſelected to be its willing inſtrument of the independence and proſperity of this grateful people, was adorned with all the virtues which ſo dignified an agency required, unſullied with the vices by which moſt of the conquerors and heroes of hiſtory have been diſgraced!—And may not we, Ame-

ricans ! indulge the virtuous boaſt, that the merits, and not the rank ; the uſefulneſs, and not the ſplendour ; the ſervices, and not the fortune of WASHINGTON, have invited the tears which have ſo copiouſly flowed at his death.

Had his merits been atteſted only by the celebrity of his victories, or his reputation by the laurels of the field, admiration, unmixed with regret, would have attended him to his grave. But as patriotiſm was the invigorating principle of his actions ; as his victories were obtained for his country ; as his life was ſucceſsfully devoted to her cauſe ; gratitude, love, reſpect, and all the worthy ſentiments of the heart, hover round his tomb, and bear teſtimony to the grief of a nation.

Of him whoſe illuſtrious deeds have been the theme of univerſal praiſe, from the commencement of active life to the day his death is deplored ; and to an audience compoſed of his cotemporaries, a minute hiſtory is not demanded by the occaſion. A ſlight review of ſcenes familiar to all, in which the hiſtory of our country and its benefactor are intimately blended, will ſatisfactorily diſcharge the duty aſſigned me.

When the people of this Weſtern World, goaded by oppreſſion into reſiſtance, and reaſoned into the determination to become independent, firſt reſorted to force ; their defenceleſs condition, poverty of finances, arms, ammunition, and a diſciplined ſoldiery, rendered the attempt ridiculous to ſome, and problematical in the view of all.

A motley people, who for the firſt time began to feel a common intereſt, with conflicting pretences, and almoſt invincible jealouſies, compoſed the army deſtined to contend with one of the mightieſt powers of the earth. With no qualities of the ſoldier but valour—with political principles obnoxious to military diſcipline—with habits of equality averſe, even to neceſſary ſubordination—the independent yeomanry of diſtant regions were ſummoned together to fight in a common cauſe, and brought with them the local pride, preju-

dices and affected contempt of each other, which threatened diſſolution to the army, almoſt as ſoon as it was created.

On the judicious ſelection of a ſupreme commander to this irregular force, was perhaps at that moment ſuſpended the fate of empire. The art of governing the mind was as requiſite as the art of war; the power of moulding the paſſions was not an inferior qualification to that of conducting a battle. Impreſſed with the mighty conſequence of their choice, and guided by the unerring counſels of Heaven; the venerable aſſembly of patriots, who conducted the early part of our revolution, unanimouſly called to the eminent and hazardous poſt, the illuſtrious WASHINGTON.

His fame had already acquired a maturity, to which more advanced age has but ſeldom attained. Uniting the temperate deliberation of age, with the energy and activity of youth, at a period of life commonly devoted to the precepts of the cloſet, he was diſtinguiſhed among his countrymen for political ſagacity as well as military enterpriſe. In the ſchool of adverſity he learned thoſe leſſons of prudence and diſcretion, which he afterwards practiſed ſo much to his own glory, and the happineſs of his country. With a mind too great to feel local prejudice—too juſt to indulge unwarrantable partialities—he conſidered America as a nation almoſt before her birth; and was diſpoſed to draw merit into eſtimation in whatever region it grew.

To this magnanimity of character, combined with a ſpirit of perſeverance which never loſt ſight of its object, may be imputed the wonderful event in our hiſtory, that from a heterogeneous maſs of people diverging in their affections, and almoſt hoſtile in their opinions, was at once created a patriotic band of brothers, acknowledging their beloved Commander as their common father, patron and friend.

An army thus united in ſentiment and in object, led by a General of ſuch talents and ſo much popularity, ſoon diſcovered itſelf equal to the taſk it had aſſumed,

of defending its injured country; and the ſpeedy expulſion of the enemy from our northern capital, gave the firſt earneſt of the reſult of our bold and virtuous ſtruggle for liberty and independence.

The varying fortune of war, co-operating with the diminution of his army, having obſcured with diſaſters a campaign which had opened ſo brilliantly; the American General, great in proſperity, greater in adverſity, did not deſpond at the gloomy aſpect of the cauſe of which he was now the chief ſupport; but collecting all the mighty energies of his ſoul, at the moment when the zeal of patriotiſm in ſome began to languiſh; when deſpair ſat on the viſage of all; when the haughty and triumphant foe was arranging his proſcriptions and his pardons; the brilliant *coup de main* at Trenton, followed by the maſterly achievement at Princeton, ſcattered the clouds which had ſeemed impenetrable, repleniſhed the army on the point of diſſolution, and gave a ſpirit and energy to our cauſe, which accompanied it to its happy iſſue.

The affairs of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, though, from cauſes which the Commander could not control, they failed of the complete ſucceſs which the wiſdom and ſkill of their contrivance had promiſed, taught the enemy to reſpect the talents of the man they were unable to conquer, and convinced the projectors of our ſubjugation abroad, that a brave people, united in a virtuous cauſe, under ſo able a leader, never could be ſubdued.

Through an arduous and obſtinate ſtruggle, in the face of an enemy generally ſuperior in numbers, and always in diſcipline, with a broken and diſpirited army, ſometimes deſtitute of the means of war, and not unfrequently of the means of life, this wonderful man by his fortitude, ſagacity and perſeverance, kept in check the well appointed, well fed, and well furniſhed army of the enemy; and, though not always victorious, limited the effect of every defeat to the ſpot on which it was ſuſtained.

At length, aided by the troops of an illuſtrious, though ſince unfortunate ally, he deviſed and executed the memorable expedition againſt Yorktown, which gave to his victorious arms an entire army of the foe, commanded by the celebrated nobleman to whoſe abilities have ſince been committed the care of extending the Britiſh empire abroad, and preſerving it from diſmemberment at home.

This happy event, placing on high ground the American character for ſpirit and perſeverance, taught our diſappointed oppreſſors that conqueſt receded from their graſp, in proportion to their exertions and ſacrifices to obtain it; and drew from them the reluctant acknowledgment of the independence of a people, they had flattered themſelves with being able to enſlave.

Thus terminated the military career of the illuſtrious WASHINGTON. The inſignia of office were reſtored to the hands which gave them; and the world ſaw the novel and intereſting ſcene of a nation purſuing with its praiſes, their defender and benefactor; while he, alone ignorant of his glory, modeſtly withdrew himſelf from their acknowledgments.

If we reflect for a moment on the almoſt inſuperable difficulties, the multiplied diſaſters, the protracted iſſue of a war diſſimilar in its character to any that had occurred in hiſtory; we ſhall find abundant reaſon for thankfulneſs to Heaven, for having given to our country perhaps the only man, who could have inſured it eventual ſucceſs.

Purſuing with invincible ſtability the object for which he relinquiſhed all the felicities of life; we find him collected in misfortune, prudent in ſucceſs, with no ambition but for the honour of his country; feeling no diſtreſs which happened in her cauſe. In his victories, if you look for the fulſome boaſting, and pedantic gaſconade of the ſeducer rather than the conqueror of degenerated Italy, you will find in their ſtead the moſt ardent praiſes of his meritorious army, and devout acknowlegments to the God of battles. In defeat, you

find no inactive deſpondency ; no deſperate ſacrifice of blood ; but a mind capable of deriving advantage even from adverſe fortune, and always preſenting a formidable aſpect to a victorious enemy.

Where are thoſe paſſions, which have been ſeen to agitate the warriors of other nations when inflated with ſucceſs, and triumphant in the glory of their arms. Had the *auri ſacra fames*, that paſſion ſo univerſal, a place in his breaſt ? The Britiſh treaſury would have been at the command of a man, whoſe defection would have enſlaved his country. Did ambition, that vice ſo often allied to greatneſs, have any influence on his actions ? Then, like Sylla, the corrupt general of Rome, he would have led a diſcontented army to the ſeat of power, and fortified himſelf in the fears inſtead of the affections of the American people. Or, like the modern Sylla* of France, at a blow he would have extinguiſhed the conſtitution of his country ; with the halberds of his grenadiers expelled the national repreſentatives from the hall rendered ſacred by their preſence ; and under the impoſing name of Dictator, Conſul, or Triumvir, erected a ſanguinary throne on the necks of a devoted people.

But with a popularity ſuperior to that of any fortunate pretender to power in ancient or modern hiſtory, at a period when the feebleneſs of government could ſcarce have found a bayonet to protect itſelf from ruin,

* Buonaparte, who has been for ſeveral years ſo celebrated, has been compared to Julius Ceſar and to Cromwell ; but it appears to me there is in his character a much ſtronger reſemblance to Sylla than to either of theſe celebrated men. We have yet no evidence of his poſſeſſing the talents of Ceſar, unleſs a puerile diſplay of claſſical alluſions, is received for evidence of great erudition and extenſive information. He certainly has not ſhewn himſelf equal to Cromwell in canting, not even upon the jaded terms of liberty and equality, which he ſeems to have uttered with a very ill grace on his late uſurpation. Like Sylla he is a man of accompliſhments and oſtentation ; like Sylla he was ſent upon a foreign expedition ; like Sylla he returned to the city without leave from his government, and like Sylla, with his ſoldiers he has deſtroyed even the nominal liberty of his country. Whether like Sylla he will from magnanimity or a taſte for debauchery abandon the throne he has uſurped, is yet to be proved. The principal difference in the two characters is, that Sylla brought his army with him to ſhare the fruits of his treachery ; Buonaparte ignobly abandoned his to periſh by the ſword or by peſtilence.

this unparalleled man nobly ſtepped forth the champion of civil authority; and by his management and addreſs, a mutiny that would have conducted a Julius Ceſar to empire, was diſſipated without effect.

Nor is it leſs a ſubject of congratulation and gratitude, that the people who were to reap the reward of ſuch preeminent merits and incorruptible integrity, were as conſtant in their affections as he in his virtues. Popular favour has, in all countries and in every age, been proverbially fickle, and republican gratitude has been eſtimated on the ſame ſcale with punic faith.

Camillus was compelled to fly from the Rome he had ſo often ſaved from deſtruction. Ariſtides was a victim to the oſtraciſm of Athens; and the hero of Marathon ended his days in a dungeon. But the people of America have never for a moment forgotten the ſervices of their WASHINGTON, and have never withheld the expreſſion of their gratitude.

In diſaſters that would have brought a ſcore of French generals to the guillotine; and in victories that would have ſent as many to the ſands of Arabia, they implicitly confided in the man they had choſen for their guide, followed him with their affection through every period of his life, and bear ample teſtimony to his merits, when removed from the ſcenes which his name hath ſo long embelliſhed.

But America is not more indebted to this extraordinary man for the happy conduct and termination of a war, which threatened annihilation to her liberties, than for his inſtrumentality in producing a national compact, which alone has preſerved her from the horrors of internal commotion or foreign domination. Called by the unanimous voice of a free and grateful people, to adminiſter a government, he had contributed ſo much to procure; when the returning jealouſies of ſo many independent ſovereignties could be appeaſed by nothing but the all-controlling popularity of WASHINGTON, he reluctantly exchanged the delightful tranquillity of his

beloved Mount Vernon, for the perilous and comfortleſs ocean of political eminence.

The early duties of his new ſituation were arduous and embarraſſing. In organizing the new machine, in ſelecting appropriate talents for the great departments of government,* in diſcovering meritorious candidates for the ſubordinate machinery; a political ſkill, knowledge of mankind, information of characters, and diſintereſtedneſs of opinion,† was exhibited wonderful from one whoſe talents and experience had been principally directed to the field. Though the characters of the ſtateſman and the hero bear but little reſemblance, yet his exact diſcharge even of the minuter duties of office, and his extenſive view of the foreign and domeſtic relations of our country, ſhew that he was alike qualified for eminence in the cabinet and in the field.

Events of great moment ſoon demanded all the activity, fortitude and energy of his capacious ſoul. Placed in an elevated and highly reſponſible ſituation, at a period big with prodigies and monſters; when the elements of ſocial connexion ſeemed in a ſtate of ſeparation; when the moral world was faſt falling into chaos; when the political fanaticiſm of the age had ſpread itſelf acroſs the Atlantic, and infected with its

* What government was ever adminiſtered with more fidelity than ours? and where can you find more talents and character, than in the principal departments? For a Preſident, a WASHINGTON; for a Vice Preſident, an ADAMS; for Chief Juſtice, a JAY; for Secretary of Treaſury, an HAMILTON; Secretary at War, a KNOX; Secretary of State, a JEFFERSON; who, however dangerous his politics, is unqueſtionably a man of eminent talents. In ſhort, never did a government begin its career under more auſpicious circumſtances to inſure it the love of its citizens and the reſpect of ſtrangers.

† I have heard, though I will not vouch for the truth of the ſtory, that ſometime during the war a coolneſs took place between General WASHINGTON and Colonel now General Hamilton; in conſequence of which the latter left the family of the former. Notwithſtanding this, to the immortal honour of theſe great men, General WASHINGTON, when Preſident, gave Mr. Hamilton the moſt important office under the new Government; an office which perhaps not another man in the United States could in its commencement have executed with equal ability, fidelity, and public economy. And Mr. Hamilton has ever been animated in the praiſe of General WASHINGTON, while in office and when only a citizen.

baleful contagion, our till then healthy atmoſphere; at this portentous criſis, threatening with devaſtation every country that acknowledged a GOD, or was happy in a government; our magnanimous political pilot oppoſed his impenetrable reſolution to the mighty deluge, reſiſted the almoſt reſiſtleſs torrent of faction, and preſerved, with equal hand, the helm of government, till the fury of the tempeſt was over.

When the grand miſſionary of democratic jeſuitiſm paſſed into this country, to poiſon the ſources of ſocial happineſs, to deſtroy the confidence of the people in their government, and to undermine the inſtitutions of religion and morality; when this miſſionary was received by ſome of our apoſtate brethren with affection and joy, and the deſtructive principles of demoralizing ſophiſts became faſhionable among us; at this eventful criſis, auſpicious to faction, perilous to civil and political liberty; had not the formidable and venerated name of WASHINGTON been oppoſed to the prevailing degeneracy, who can ſay what would have been the fate of our devoted nation? Who can ſay, that we ſhould not, like others, have been debaſed into a ſervile colony under the alluring appellation of ally to the ſelf-ſtyled Great Nation; forced to ſtarve our wives and our children to pamper an intemperate band of myrmidons, placed over us to protect our *liberties;* and with the bayonet at our throats, compelled to ſing hoſanna at each diurnal rotation of the mighty political phenomenon, which deals death and deſtruction to all that fall within the vortex of her courſe?

Having conducted his country ſafely through a period of ſuch imminent hazard; having, with an ability which ſeldom has been equalled and never can be ſurpaſſed, honourably preſerved the national neutrality in a ſeaſon of univerſal tempeſt; having ſucceſsfully terminated a cruel and relentleſs war with the ſavages, fraught with horror to our frontiers; having cruſhed a formidable rebellion; having triumphed over the perſevering ſpirit of faction; having, by the dignity and

ſtability of his meaſures, given reſpectability to our nation abroad; having ſeen the people under his adminiſtration proſperous and happy at home; having twice, at an interval of four years, in a country where every act of adminiſtration is open to public ſcrutiny, received the unanimous ſuffrage of his fellow-citizens for the firſt eminence in their gift; having moreover a reaſonable aſſurance that his illuſtrious Copatriot, who now preſides in our government, would ſucceed to the honours which he was about to relinquiſh, he indulged the wiſhes which a ſenſe of duty to his country had before ſuppreſſed, and again ſought repoſe in the retirement he ſo ardently loved. The voice of a grateful people again attended him to the retreat he was about to ornament, and the animated prayers of a happy people aſcended to Heaven for his life and felicity.

Though thus removed from the conſpicuous theatre of public life, the name of WASHINGTON was not loſt to his country or the world. When the rapacity and inſult of an overbearing nation menaced our unoffending ſhores with war; when one of the elements daily bore teſtimony to already exiſting hoſtility; when (to uſe his own elegant and expreſſive language) "the laſt drop in the cup of reconciliation was exhauſted;" when the unwieldy armies of victorious France, without employment or money at home, threatened every country which was unprepared for their reception; ſay, Americans! next to your truſt in Heaven, did you not feel a ſecurity, a confidence in the midſt of danger, in the knowledge that your WASHINGTON, with his wiſdom and his patriotiſm unabated, was ſtill alive? Yes! the univerſal joy which his magnanimous acceptance of the command of the armies communicated throughout the nation, is abundant proof of the reliance placed on his name.

But ere the danger of his country demanded another reſort to the field; while the objects of his tender affections were growing doubly dear from the apprehenſion of another ſeparation; with the undiminiſhed

affection of his country, and confidence of the government; mature in years, maturer in glory, all-wise but to us mysterious Heaven (perhaps to show that our dependence is not to be placed in man; to recal our reverence from the instrument to the author of our happiness) summoned him to itself. His mortal part is now at rest in the sepulchre of his fathers; his sublime spirit has ascended to its GOD, in whose presence those transcendent virtues, which the honours of this world were insufficient to reward, will find most ample retribution.

A Funeral Oration

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Delivered *February* 22, 1800, by Appointment of a number of the Clergy of New-York.

BY JOHN M. MASON, A. M.
Paſtor of the Aſſociate-Reformed Church in the City of New-York.

..... Quæ te tam læta tulerunt
Sæcula? Qui tanti talem genuêre parentes?
In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
Luſtrabunt convexa, polus dum ſidera paſcet,
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudeſque manebunt.

VIRG.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE offices of this day belong leſs to eloquence than to grief. We celebrate one of thoſe great events which, by uniting public calamity with private affliction, create in every boſom a reſponſe to the throes of an empire. God, who doeth wonders; whoſe ways muſt be adored, but not queſtioned, in ſevering from the embraces of America her firſt-beloved patriot, has impoſed on her the duty of blending impaſſioned feeling with profound and unmurmuring ſubmiſſion. An aſſembled nation, lamenting a father in their departed chief; abſorbing every inferior conſideration in the ſentiment of their common loſs; mingling their recollections and their anticipations; their wiſhes, their regrets, their ſympathies, and their tears, is a ſpectacle not more tender than awful, and excites emotions too mighty for utterance. I ſhould have no right to complain, Americans, if, inſtead of indulging me with your attention, you ſhould command me to retire, and leave you to weep in the ſilence of wo. I ſhould deſerve the reprimand, were I to appear before you with the pretenſions of eulogy. No! Eulogy has miſtaken

her province and her powers, when she assumes for her theme the glory of WASHINGTON. His deeds and his virtues are his high eulogium. His deeds most familiar to your memories, his virtues most dear to your affections. To me, therefore, nothing is permitted but to borrow from yourselves. And though a pencil more daring than mine would languish in attempting to retrace the living lines which the finger of Truth has drawn upon your hearts, you will bear with me, while, on a subject which dignifies every thing related to it, 'I tell you that which you yourselves do know.'

The name of WASHINGTON, connected with all that is most brilliant in the history of our country, and in human character, awakens sensations which agitate the fervours of youth, and warm the chill bosom of age. Transported to the times when America rose to repel her wrongs, and to claim her destinies, a scene of boundless grandeur bursts upon our view. Long had her filial duty expostulated with parental injustice. Long did she deprecate the rupture of those ties which she had been proud of preserving and displaying. But her humble entreaty spurned; aggression followed by the rod, and the rod by scorpions, having changed remonstrance into murmur, and murmur into resistance, she transfers her grievances from the throne of earth to the throne of heaven; and precedes by an appeal to the God of judgment, her appeal to the sword of war.

At issue now with the mistress of the seas; unfurnished with equal means of defence; the convulsive shock approaching; and every evil omen passing before her, one step of rashness or of folly may seal her doom. In this accumulation of trouble, who shall command her confidence, and face her dangers, and conduct her cause? God, whose kingdom ruleth over all, prepares from afar the instruments best adapted to his purpose. By an influence which it would be as irrational to dispute as it is vain to scrutinize, he stirs up the spirit of the statesman and the soldier. Minds on which he has bestowed the elements of greatness, are

brought, by his providence, into contact with exigencies which rouſe them into action. It is in the ſeaſon of effort and of peril that impotence diſappears, and energy ariſes. The whirlwind which ſweeps away the glow-worm, uncovers the fire of genius, and kindles it into a blaze, that irradiates at once both the zenith and the poles.

But among the heroes who ſprung from obſcurity, when the college, the counting-houſe, and the plough teemed with "thunderbolts of war," none could, in all reſpects, meet the wants and the wiſhes of America. She required, in her leader, a man reared under her own eye; who combined with diſtinguiſhed talent, a character above ſuſpicion; who had added to his phyſical and moral qualities the experience of difficult ſervice; a man, who ſhould concentrate in himſelf the public affections and confidences; who ſhould know how to multiply the energies of every other man under his direction, and to make diſaſter itſelf the means of ſucceſs—his arm a fortreſs and his name a hoſt. Such a man it were almoſt preſumption to expect; but ſuch a man all-ruling Heaven had provided, and that man was WASHINGTON.

Pre-eminent already in worth, he is ſummoned to the pre-eminence of toil and of danger. Unallured by the charms of opulence: unappalled by the hazard of a dubious warfare: unmoved by the proſpect of being, in the event of failure, the firſt and moſt conſpicuous victim, he obeys the ſummons, becauſe he loves his duty. The reſolve is firm, for the probation is terrible. His theatre is a world; his charge, a family of nations; the intereſt ſtaked in his hands, the proſperity of millions unborn in ages to come. His means, under aid from on high, the reſources of his own breaſt, with the raw recruits and irregular ſupplies of diſtracted Colonies. O criſis worthy of ſuch a hero! Followed by her little bands, her prayers and her tears, WASHINGTON eſpouſes the quarrel of his country. As he moves on to the conflict, every heart palpitates, and

every knee trembles. The foe, alike valiant and veteran, preſents no eaſy conqueſt, nor aught inviting but to thoſe who had conſecrated their blood to the public weal. The Omnipotent, who allots great enjoyment as the meed of great exertion, had ordained that America ſhould be free; but that ſhe ſhould learn to value the bleſſing by the price of its acquiſition. She ſhall go to a "wealthy place," but her way is "through fire and through water." Many a generous chief muſt bleed, and many a gallant youth ſink, at his ſide, into the ſurpriſed grave; the field muſt be heaped with ſlain; the purple torrent muſt roll, ere the angel of peace deſcend with his olive. It is here, amid devaſtation, and horror, and death, that WASHINGTON muſt reap his laurels, and engrave his trophies on the ſhields of immortality. Shall Delaware and Princeton? Shall Monmouth and York?—But I may not particularize; far leſs repeat the tale which babes recite, which poets ſing, and fame has publiſhed to the liſtening world. Every ſcene of his action was a ſcene of his triumph. Now, he ſaved the republic by more than Fabian caution; now, he avenged her by more than Carthaginian fierceneſs. While, at every ſtroke, her foreſts and her hills re-echoed to her ſhout, "The ſword of the LORD and of WASHINGTON!" Nor was this the vain applauſe of partiality and enthuſiaſm. The blaſted ſchemes of Britain; her broken and her captive hoſts, proclaimed the terror of his arms. Skilled were her chiefs, and brave her legions; but bravery and ſkill rendered them a conqueſt more worthy of WASHINGTON. True, he ſuffered, in his turn, repulſe and even defeat. It was both natural and needful. Unchequered with reverſe, his ſtory would have reſembled rather the fictions of romance, than the truth of narrative: and had he been neither defeated nor repulſed, we had never ſeen all the grandeur of his ſoul. He arrayed himſelf in freſh honours by that which ruins even the great—viciſſitude. He could not only ſubdue an enemy, but, what is infinitely more, he could ſubdue misfor-

tune. With an equanimity which gave temperance to victory, and cheerfulneſs to diſaſter, he balanced the fortunes of the ſtate. In the face of hoſtile proweſs; in the midſt of mutiny and treaſon; ſurrounded with aſtoniſhment, irreſolution, and deſpondence, WASHINGTON remained erect, unmoved, invincible. Whatever ills America might endure in maintaining her rights, ſhe exulted that ſhe had nothing to fear from her commander in chief. The event juſtified her moſt ſanguine preſages. That inviſible hand which girded him at firſt, continued to guard and to guide him through the ſucceſſive ſtages of the revolution. Nor did he account it a weakneſs to bend the knee in homage to its ſupremacy, and prayer for its direction. This was the armour of WASHINGTON: this the ſalvation of his country.*

The hope of her reduction at length abandoned; her war of liberty brought, in the eſtabliſhment of independence, to that honourable concluſion for which it had been undertaken, the hour arrived when he was to reſign the truſt which he had accepted with diffidence. To a mind leſs pure and elevated, the ſituation of America would have furniſhed the pretext, as well as the means, of military uſurpation. Talents equal to daring enterpriſe; the derangement of public affairs; unbounded popularity; and the devotion of a ſuffering army, would have been to every other a ſtrong, and to almoſt any other, an irreſiſtible temptation. In WASHINGTON they did not produce even the pain of ſelf-denial. They added the laſt proof of his diſintereſtedneſs; and impoſed on his country the laſt obligation to gratitude. Impenetrable by corrupting influence; deaf to honeſt but erring ſolicitation;

* The example of WASHINGTON reaches a poignant reproof to thoſe who think, or act as if they thought, that religion is incompatible with greatneſs. The majeſty of his character forbids a ſuſpicion that his reverence for the worſhip of GOD, and his ſolicitude for the prevalence of religious principle, were either a tribute to prejudice, or a ſtratagem of ſtate. But every poſſible doubt is removed by the fact, that it was his uniform practice, even during the war, to retire, at a certain hour, for the devotion of the cloſet.

irreconcilable with every diſloyal ſentiment, he urged the neceſſity, and ſet the example of laying down, in peace, arms aſſumed for the common defence.* But to ſeparate from the companions of his danger and his glory, was, even for WASHINGTON, a difficult taſk. About to leave them forever, a thouſand ſenſations ruſhed upon his heart, and all the ſoldier melted in the man. He who has no tenderneſs, has no magnanimity. WASHINGTON could vanquiſh, and WASHINGTON could weep. Never was affection more cordially reciprocated. The graſped hand; the ſilent anguiſh; the ſpontaneous tear trickling down the ſcarred cheek; the wiſtful look, as he paſſed, after the warrior who ſhould never again point their way to victory,—form a ſcene for nature's painter, and for nature's bard.

But we muſt not loſe, in our ſenſibility, the remembrance of his penetration, his prudence, his regard of public honour, and of public faith. Abhorring outrage; jealous for the reputation, and dreading the exceſſes, of even a gallant army, fluſhed with conqueſt, prompted by incendiaries, and ſheltered by a ſemblance of right, his laſt act of authority is to diſmiſs them to their homes without entering the capital. Accompanied with a handful of troops, he repairs to the Council of the States, and, through them, ſurrenders to his country the ſword which he had drawn in her defence. Singular phenomenon! WASHINGTON becomes a private citizen. He exchanges ſupreme command for the tranquillity of domeſtic life. Go, incomparable man! to adorn no leſs the civic virtues, than the ſplendid achievements of the field: Go, rich in the conſciouſneſs of thy high deſerts: Go, with the admiration of the world, with the plaudit of millions, and the oriſons of millions more for thy temporal and thine eternal bliſs!

The glory of WASHINGTON ſeemed now complete. While the univerſal voice proclaimed that he might

* Morris' Oration.

decline, with honour, every future burden, it was a wiſh and an opinion almoſt as univerſal, that he would not jeopardize the fame which he had ſo nobly won. Had perſonal conſiderations ſwayed his mind, this would have been his own deciſion. But, untutored in the philoſophiſm of the age, he had not learned to ſeparate the maxims of wiſdom from the injunctions of duty. His ſoul was not debaſed by that moral cowardice which fears to riſk popularity for the general good. Having aſſiſted in the formation of an efficient government which he had refuſed to dictate or enforce at the mouth of his cannon, he was ready to contribute the weight of his character to inſure its effect. And his country rejoiced in an opportunity of teſtifying, that, much as ſhe loved and truſted others, ſhe ſtill loved and truſted him moſt. Hailed, by her unanimous ſuffrage, the pilot of the ſtate, he approaches the awful helm, and graſping it with equal firmneſs and eaſe, demonſtrates that *forms* of power cauſe no embarraſſment to him.

In ſo novel an experiment, as a nation framing a government for herſelf under no impulſe but that of reaſon; adopting it through no force but the force of conviction; and putting it into operation without bloodſhed or violence, it was all-important that her firſt magiſtrate ſhould poſſeſs her unbounded good will. Thoſe elements of diſcord which lurked in the diverſity of local intereſt; in the colliſion of political theories; in the irritations of party; in the diſappointed or gratified ambition of individuals; and which, notwithſtanding her graceful tranſition, threatened the harmony of America, it was for WASHINGTON alone to control and repreſs. His tried integrity, his ardent patriotiſm, were inſtead of a volume of arguments for the excellence of that ſyſtem which he approved and ſupported. Among the ſimple and honeſt whom no artifice was omitted to enſnare, there were thouſands who knew little of the philoſophy of government, and leſs of the nice machinery of the Conſtitution: but they knew that WASHINGTON was wiſe and good; they knew it was

impoſſible that *he* ſhould betray them; and by this they were reſcued from the fangs of faction. Ages will not furniſh ſo inſtructive a comment on that cardinal virtue of republicans, confidence in the men of their choice; nor a more ſalutary antidote againſt the peſtilential principle, that the ſoul of a republic is jealouſy. At the commencement of her federal government, miſtruſt would have ruined America; in confidence, ſhe found her ſafety.

The re-appearance of WASHINGTON as a ſtateſman, excited the conjecture of the old world, and the anxiety of the new. His martial fame had fixed a criterion, however inaccurate, of his civil adminiſtration. Military genius does neither confer nor imply political ability. Whatever merit may be attached to the faculty of arranging the principles, and proſecuting the details, of an army, it muſt be conceded that vaſter comprehenſions belong to the ſtateſman. Ignorance, vanity, the love of paradox, and the love of miſchief, affecting to ſneer at the "myſtery of government," have, indeed, taught, that common ſenſe and common honeſty are his only requiſites. The nature of things and the experience of every people, in every age, teach a different doctrine. America had multitudes who poſſeſſed both thoſe qualities, but ſhe had only one WASHINGTON. To adjuſt, in the beſt compromiſe, a thouſand interfering views, ſo as to effect the greateſt good of the whole with the leaſt inconvenience to the parts; to curb the dragon of faction by means which inſure the ſafety of public liberty; to marſhal opinion and prejudice among the auxiliaries of the law; in fine, to touch the mainſpring of national agency, ſo as to preſerve the equipoiſe of its powers, and to make the feebleſt movements of the extremities accord with the impulſe at the centre, is only for genius of the higheſt order. To excel equally in military and political ſcience, has been the praiſe of a few choſen ſpirits, among whom, with a proud preference, we enrol the father of our country.

It was the fortune of WASHINGTON to direct tranſactions of which the repetition is hardly within the limits of human poſſibilities. When he entered on his firſt Preſidency, all the intereſts of the Continent were vibrating through the arch of political uncertainty. The departments of the new government were to be marked out, and filled up; foreign relations to be regulated; the phyſical and moral ſtrength of the nation to be organized; and that at a time when ſcepticiſm in politics, no leſs than in religion and morals, was preparing, throughout Europe, to ſpring the mine of revolution and ruin. In diſcharging his firſt duties, that ſame intelligent, cautious, reſolute procedure, which had rendered him the bulwark of war, now exhibited him as the guardian of peace. Appropriation of talent to employment, is one of the deep reſults of political ſagacity. And in his ſelection of men for office, WASHINGTON diſplayed a knowledge of character and of buſineſs, a contempt of favoritiſm, and a devotion to the public welfare, which permitted the *General* to be rivalled only by the *Preſident*.

Under ſuch auſpices, the fruit and the pledge of divine bleſſing, America rears her head, and recovers her vigours. Agriculture laughs on the land: Commerce ploughs the wave: Peace rejoices her at home; and ſhe grows into reſpect abroad. Ah! too happy, to progreſs without interruption. The exploſions of Europe bring new vexations to her, and new trials and new glories to her WASHINGTON. Vigilant and faithful, he hears the tempeſt roar from afar, warns her of its approach, and prepares for averting its dangers. Black are the heavens, and angry the billows, and narrow and perilous the paſſage. But his compoſure, dignity, and firmneſs, are equal to the peril. Unſeduced by fraud; unterrified by threat; unawed by clamour, he holds on his ſteady way, and again he ſaves his country. With leſs deciſion on the part of WASHINGTON, a generous but miſtaken ardour would have plunged her into the whirlpool, and left her till this hour the

ſport of the contending elements. Americans! bow to that magnanimous policy, which protected your deareſt intereſts at the hazard of incurring your diſpleaſure. It was thus that WASHINGTON proved himſelf, not in the cant of the day, but in the procurement of ſubſtantial good, in ſtepping between them and perdition, the ſervant of the people.

The hiſtorian of this period will have to record a revolt raiſed by infatuation againſt the law of the land.* He will have to record the neceſſity which compelled even WASHINGTON to ſuppreſs it by the ſword. But he will have to record alſo his gentleneſs and his lenity. Deeds of ſeverity were his ſad tribute to juſtice: deeds of humanity the native ſuggeſtions of his heart.

Eight years of glorious adminiſtration created a claim on the indulgence of his country, which none could think of diſputing, but which all lamented ſhould be urged. The ends which rendered his ſervices indiſpenſable being moſtly attained, he demands his reſtoration to private life. Reſigning to an able ſucceſſor the reins which he had guided with characteriſtic felicity, he once more bids adieu to public honours. Let not his motives be miſtaken or forgotten. It was for him to ſet as great examples in the relinquiſhment, as in the acceptance, of power. No mortified ambition; no haughty diſguſts; no expectation of higher office, prompted his retreat. He knew that foreign nations conſidered his life as the bond, and his influence as the vital ſpirit, of our union. He knew that his own luſtre threw a ſhade over others, not more injurious to them than to his country. He wiſhed to diſpel the enchantment of his own name: he wiſhed to relieve the apprehenſions of America, by making her ſenſible of her riches in other patriots; to be a ſpectator of her proſperity under their management; and to convince herſelf, and to convince the world, that ſhe depended leſs on him, than either her enemies or her friends believed. And therefore he withdrew.

* The Inſurrection in Pennſylvania in 1794.

Having laviſhed all her honours, his country had nothing more to beſtow upon him except her bleſſing. But he had more to beſtow upon his country. His views and his advice, the condenſed wiſdom of all his reflection, obſervation and experience, he delivers to his compatriots in a manual worthy of them to ſtudy, and of him to compoſe. And now, when they could hope to enjoy only the ſatisfaction of ſtill poſſeſſing him, the pleaſure of recounting his acts, and the benefit of practiſing his leſſons, they accompany his retirement with their aſpirations, that his evening may be as ſerene, as his morning had been fair, and his noon reſplendent.

That he ſhould ever again endure the ſolicitudes of office, was rather to be deprecated than deſired. Becauſe it muſt be a criſis ſingularly portentous, which could juſtify another invaſion of his repoſe. From ſuch a neceſſity we fondly promiſed ourſelves exemption. Flattering, fallacious ſecurity! The ſudden whirlwind ſprings out of a calm. The revolutions of a day proclaim that an empire was. However remote the poſition of America; however peaceful her character; however cautious and equitable her policy; ſhe was not to go unmoleſted by the gigantic fiend of Gallic domination. That ſhe was free and happy, was crime and provocation enough. He faſtened on her his murderous eye: he was preparing for her that deadly embrace, in which nations ſupine and credulous had already periſhed. Reduced to the alternative of ſwelling the catalogue of his victims, or arguing her cauſe with the bayonet and the ball, ſhe burſts the ill-fated bonds which had linked her to his deſtinies, and aſſumes the tone and attitude of defiance. The gauntlet is thrown. To advance is perilous: to retreat, deſtruction. She looks wiſtfully round, and calls for WASHINGTON. The well-known voice, that voice, which he had ever accounted a law, pierces the retreats of Vernon, and thrills his boſom. Domeſtic enjoyments loſe their charm; repoſe becomes to him inglo-

rious; every ſacrifice is cheap, and every exertion eaſy, when his beloved country requires his aid. With all the alacrity of youth, he flies to her ſuccour. The helmet of war preſſes his ſilver locks. His ſword, which diſhonour had never tarniſhed, nor corruption poiſoned, he once more unſheaths, and prepares to receive on its point the inſolence of that foe, whoſe intrigue he had foiled by his wiſdom.

It muſt ever be difficult to compare the merits of WASHINGTON's characters, becauſe he always appeared greateſt in that which he laſt ſuſtained. Yet if there is a preference, it muſt be aſſigned to the Lieutenant-General of the Armies of America. Not becauſe the duties of that ſtation were more arduous than thoſe which he had often performed, but becauſe it more fully diſplayed his magnanimity. While others become great by elevation, WASHINGTON becomes greater by condeſcenſion. Matchleſs patriot! to ſtoop, on public motives, to an inferior appointment, after poſſeſſing and dignifying the higheſt offices! Thrice favoured country, which boaſts of ſuch a citizen! We gaze with aſtoniſhment: we exult that we are Americans. We augur every thing great, and good, and happy.... But whence this ſudden horror? What means that cry of agony? Oh! 'tis the ſhriek of America! The fairy viſion is fled: WASHINGTON is——no more!——

"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed!"

Daughters of America, who erſt prepared the feſtal bower and the laurel wreath, plant now the cypreſs grove, and water it with tears.

"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed!"

The death of WASHINGTON, Americans, has revealed the extent of our loſs. It has given us the final proof that we never miſtook him. Take his affecting teſtament, and read the ſecrets of his ſoul. Read all the power of domeſtic virtue. Read his ſtrong love of letters and of liberty. Read his fidelity to republican principle, and his jealouſy of national character. Read

his devotedneſs to you in his military bequeſts to near relations. "Theſe ſwords," they are the words of WASHINGTON, "theſe ſwords are accompanied with an injunction not to unſheath them for the purpoſe of ſhedding of blood, except it be for ſelf-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter caſe, to keep them unſheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquiſhment thereof."

In his acts, Americans, you have ſeen the man. In the complicated excellence of character, he ſtands alone. Let no future Plutarch attempt the iniquity of parallel. Let no ſoldier of fortune; let no uſurping conqueror; let not Alexander or Ceſar; let not Cromwell or Buonparte; let none among the dead or the living, appear in the ſame picture with WASHINGTON: or let them appear as the ſhade to his light.

On this ſubject, my countrymen, it is for others to ſpeculate, but it is for us to feel. Yet in proportion to the ſeverity of the ſtroke, ought to be our thankfulneſs that it was not inflicted ſooner. Through a long ſeries of years has GOD preſerved our WASHINGTON a public bleſſing: and now that he has removed him forever, ſhall we preſume to ſay, *What doeſt thou?* Never did the tomb preach more powerfully the dependence of all things on the will of the Moſt High. The greateſt of mortals crumble into duſt, the moment he commands, *Return, ye children of men.* WASHINGTON was but the inſtrument of a benignant GOD. He ſickens, he dies, that we may learn not to *truſt in men*, nor to *make fleſh our arm.* But though WASHINGTON is dead; JEHOVAH lives. GOD of our fathers! be our GOD, and the GOD of our children! Thou art our refuge and our hope; the pillar of our ſtrength; the wall of our defence, and our unfading glory!

AMERICANS! This GOD, who raiſed up WASHINGTON, and gave you liberty, exacts from you the duty of cheriſhing it with a zeal according to knowledge. Never fully, by apathy or by outrage, your fair inher-

itance. Riſk not, for one moment, on viſionary theories, the ſolid bleſſings of your lot. To you, particularly, O youth of America! applies the ſolemn charge. In all the perils of your country, remember WASHINGTON. The freedom of reaſon and of right, has been handed down to you on the point of the hero's ſword. Guard, with veneration, the ſacred depoſit. The curſe of ages will reſt upon you, O youth of America! if ever you ſurrender to foreign ambition, or domeſtic lawleſsneſs, the precious liberties for which WASHINGTON fought, and your fathers bled.

I cannot part with you, fellow citizens, without urging the long remembrance of our preſent aſſembly. This day we wipe away the reproach of republics, that they know not how to be grateful. In your treatment of living patriots, recal your love and your regret of WASHINGTON. Let not future inconſiſtency charge this day with hypocriſy. Happy America, if ſhe gives an inſtance of univerſal principle in her ſorrows for the man "firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the affections of his country!"

Eulogium

ON THE CHARACTER OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Pronounced before the PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI, *February* 22, 1800, in the City of PHILADELPHIA.

BY MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON,

AID-DE-CAMP TO THE LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CINCINNATI.

TO conſecrate the memory of illuſtrious men—to record their actions, and to celebrate their praiſe, has been the laudable practice of every age, and the grateful duty of every people.

The rudeſt nations have thus diſpenſed the rewards and the motives of virtue; while the arts and ſciences of poliſhed ſociety have contributed their nobleſt efforts to this, their beſt and higheſt application.

Conforming to this venerable uſage, and influenced by all the nobler affections, the veteran aſſociates of the immortal WASHINGTON have dedicated this auſpicious day, to the review of his glorious achievements, and the celebration of his unrivalled fame.

But their too partial choice has devolved on incompetent powers, the performance of that duty, to which the higheſt order of genius would have been unequal.

Who ſhall delineate a juſt portrait of that character, which was perfect in all its relations—or in what language ſhall the ſtory of that life be told, whoſe every action was above all praiſe?

To confer the juſt meed of eulogium on this ineſtimable character—to entwine the blended glories of the Hero and the Stateſman—with them to mingle the milder radiance of religion and morals, would require an inſpiration, not only of thoſe ſentiments, which per-

vade every claſs of men in this extenſive nation—but of thoſe opinions, which his unequalled worth has impreſſed throughout the world.

Of legiſlators, to whoſe labours and honours he was aſſociated by all that was uſeful and dignified.

Of armies, to whom he was endeared by every obligation of gratitude and glory.

Of a people, by whom he was regarded as their father, guide, and protector.

Of the holy miniſters of religion, by whom he was beloved and admired.

Of his enemies in war, by whom he was at once dreaded and revered.

Of the wiſe and juſt of all nations, of whom he was the ornament and the example.

In contemplating this neceſſary ſubdiviſion of the panegyric, which I am called to pronounce, this moſt reſpectable audience will be led to indulge a candour, proportioned to the magnitude of the ſubject, and the powers of the organ, to whom the arduous duty has been confided.

The ſuffrages, perhaps the prejudices, of mankind, have concurred in aſſigning to the profeſſion of arms, the firſt ſtation in the ranks of glory.

On the preſent occaſion, however, the deciſion is of no importance.

The Hero, whom we now commemorate, was alike pre-eminent in council, and in the field; the olive and the laurel had equally contributed their honours to form the chaplet of his renown.

It is only, therefore, in the order of his diſtinguiſhed ſervices, that our attention is firſt attracted to his military career.

Nor is it the leſs intereſting, that the firſt diſplay of his brilliant genius in war, ſhould have been made in concert with the troops of that nation, whoſe banners he was hereafter to brave---and whoſe legions he was deſtined to encounter in the defence of his country,

and in the maintenance of her freedom and independence.

Equally intereſting is the ſingular fact, that a parent's fond ſolicitude had been the happy inſtrument of preſerving him to that country, and to the high deſtination of his future honours---for, impelled by the martial diſpoſition of his mind, he was about to engage in the naval ſervice of Great-Britain at the infant age of fifteen years. But, reſtrained by filial affection, he yielded to the anxious entreaties of his mother, and relinquiſhed the object of his choice.

Who does not bleſs the memory of this tender mother! who does not reverence the piety of her exalted ſon!

Thus was the ſtupendous fabric of his fame placed on the everlaſting baſis of virtue; and thus were the immenſe advantages, which flowed to his country, derived from the pureſt ſource of a private duty.

Summoned to the liſts of glory at an age, when talents are unaided by experience, and when the ardour of youth is but little tempered by the rules of prudence, he formed, in his firſt eſſay in arms, a rare example of the moſt heroic valour, combined with the moſt conſummate ſkill.

The one was exerted to ſtem the torrent of victory obtained by a vindictive foe; the other was employed to reſcue from ruin the devoted remnant of an unfortunate army.

Admiring veterans reſigned to the youthful warrior the protection of their diſcomfited troops, and committed to his ſuperior judgment the conduct of a retreat, which covered him with glory, and wreathed his brow with the laurel of ſucceſs.

The brave, but unhappy Braddock expired in the anguiſh of defeat---the gallant, and ſympathizing WASHINGTON was conſoled by the ſafety, and honoured with the applauſe, of his ſurviving friends.

The high promiſe, which was here given of a vaſt capacity for war, was nobly realized in the command

and guidance of thoſe armies, by whoſe active valour and inflexible fortitude, the liberties and ſovereignty of the United States were maintained and eſtabliſhed.

In that eventful moment, when repreſentation and remonſtrance had been exhauſted----when the alternative of reſiſtance alone remained to an injured people---when every hazard was preferred to abject ſubmiſſion----and when that people had reſolved to meet their parent ſtate in arms.

To whoſe care was the palladium of their liberties intruſted? On whom did the unanimous choice of their enlightened repreſentatives, devolve the dangerous honour of conducting this laſt, this dread appeal?

To the virtue, the wiſdom, the valour, and the fortitude, of your immortal WASHINGTON---to the Hero, who was at once the ſword and buckler of his country, was the momentous truſt confided.

To him was aſſigned the defence of our hearths and our altars---the protection of our women and children ---and the preſervation of all that was dear to freemen, our national honour.

How well, how faithfully, the ſacred truſt was diſcharged, let the ſplendid and important ſcenes of ſeven years conflict proclaim to an admiring world.

Impreſſed by a perfect ſenſe of the high reſponſibility attached to his exalted ſtation, and conſcious of the pre-eminence in toil and danger to which he was called, he yielded implicit obedience to the ſummons---and, reſigning the utmoſt enjoyment of domeſtic felicity, he was ſolely devoted to thoſe duties, which involved the ſafety and happineſs of his country.

Repairing to the immediate theatre of military operation, in the vicinity of Boſton, he inſtantly communicated to the patriotic bands of New-England, that ſpirit of confidence, which was the reſult of his preſence, and that obſervance of order, which was eſſential to effective force.

The extraordinary ſpectacle was exhibited, of a veteran army inveſted by the haſty levies of a people, whom it had been ſent to coerce, and of that army indignantly expelled the land, which it had been commiſſioned to ſubdue.

This great event, which was to ſome the termination of their toil, and the period of their danger, was to him but the renewal of equal labours, the commencement of more anxious cares.

The invading army, ſtrengthened by a vaſt acceſſion of force, and ſupported by a powerful marine, reſumed its operations; and, under leaders of diſtinguiſhed bravery and talents, extended its menace to the entire ſubjugation of our country.

Succeſs, correſpondent to theſe immenſe preparations, was for a ſeaſon obtained.

The firm, but unavailing, efforts of our intrepid Chief were reſtrained to defenſive meaſures. Yet the hopes of America were repoſed on that ſkilful policy, which he adopted to protract the war---and on that conſummate prudence, by which he gave to defence the higheſt advantages, of which it was ſuſceptible.

The retreat from Long-Iſland, which excited the aſtoniſhment, and extorted the praiſe of his enemy, will paſs to poſterity as a conſummation in the art of war.

While the victorious enterpriſe of Trenton, and the ſucceſsful attack at Princeton, will be commemorated as the reſtoration of public confidence, and the reſcue of our declining cauſe.

Where is the war-worn ſoldier, whoſe ebbing pulſe does not beat high at theſe remembrances!

Where is the emulous and gallant youth, who does not thence anticipate his own achievements in his country's cauſe!

Advancing to meet the incurſion of a powerful army, he encountered their force at the Brandywine---where his gallant troops, though confident in the conduct, and animated by the example of their heroic leader, were compelled to reſign, to diſcipline and numbers, the hard won honours of the field.

Repulſed, but not diſmayed, he was ſoon in a capacity to reſume the offenſive---and deeply impreſſing the energies of his character, and diſplaying the vaſt reſources of his mind, in the battle of Germantown, he unnerved the plans of ſubjugation, and invigorated the hopes of his country.

The movements of the main army of the enemy were arreſted by the formidable poſition, which was occupied by our ſkilful Chief---and their further attempts were limited to the partial operation of detachments.

In aſſaulting the intrenched poſt at Red Bank, the German troops, led by the gallant Donop, were repulſed with dreadful ſlaughter, and their wounded leader was left a priſoner on the field.

The godlike WASHINGTON diſpatched, from his camp, an officer to aſſure to him of his perſonal concern, and to offer every attention, which his ſituation might require---He was even charged with the care of his removal, if it ſhould be deſired, within the Britiſh lines.

The profound ſenſibility of the hoſtile Chief was expreſſed in the following meſſage.

"Convey, Sir, to General WASHINGTON, the deep "impreſſion of my gratitude. My ſituation admits not, "at this time, of a perſonal acknowledgment---but the "firſt moments of my recovery, ſhould ſuch be the will "of Heaven, ſhall be devoted to place before him the "homage of my heart."

Where is the teſtimonial of equal impreſſion with the praiſe of a dying enemy!

What powers of eulogy can hope to reach the pathos of ſuch praiſe!

The Britiſh army, alarmed for its ſafety in an untenable poſition, prepared to concentrate its force, and to re-occupy the poſt of New-York.

The ſtrenuous efforts of the American Chief to engage a battle, and to intercept their retreat, were rendered abortive by an error in the conduct of a ſubordinate attack, at the plains of Monmouth, which enabled the Britiſh General to accompliſh his purpoſe.

Paſſing to the laſt ſcene of our military drama, we are called to contemplate, on this great occaſion, the vaſt and various powers, by which the Hero of our country was diſtinguiſhed.

Wiſdom to conceive---prudence to conceal---judgment to direct, and valour to execute a plan of operations, the moſt important in its conſequences, which the annals of war can furniſh, were eminently exemplified in the whole train of meaſures, by which the inveſtment and capture of the Britiſh army, at York-Town, were formed and achieved.

The limits of this diſcourſe do not admit a recital, which would include the varied incidents of the revolutionary war.

Compelled to abridge the enumeration of events, I have endeavoured to give to the moſt prominent points of action, diſtinguiſhed by the preſence of our gallant Chief, ſuch illuſtration as might mark the progreſs of the conteſt, and tend to deſignate the wiſdom and vigour of that conduct, by which the operations of our armies were directed, and the hopes of our country were completely realized.

It is with regret, as it is of neceſſity, that I paſs, in ſummary relation, the judicious inſtructions iſſued to ſubordinate commands and detachments---the unremitting exertions, by which the organization and diſcipline of a new-formed army were effected---the anxious cares, by which that army was ſupplied---the ſublime influence by which it was continued in active ſervice, through the rigour of the moſt inclement ſeaſons, and under the preſſure of diſcouragement, which the mind ſhudders to review.

On theſe topics, the delighted hiſtorian will dilate with increaſing praiſe; and inſtructed poſterity will dwell with gratitude and pride.

At the approach of peace an occaſion aroſe, in which the beſt faculties of his ſuperior mind were ſummoned to their utmoſt exertion---and in which the feelings of

his heart were to meet in ſtrong colliſion with the dictates of his judgment, and a paramount ſenſe of public duty.

That army, by whoſe unſhaken fidelity, and invincible fortitude, the glory and fortunes of America had been upheld, in all the viciſſitudes of the war, was on the eve of diſperſion.

Thoſe faithful comrades, in honour and misfortune, were to ſeparate forever, under the moſt afflicting circumſtances of individual adverſity.

To their country they had ſecured the bleſſings of peace, and the boon of independence---and to every claſs of their fellow-citizens, a full participation in thoſe bleſſings, enhanced by the enjoyment of that property, which, in their protected avocations, they had been enabled to preſerve or to acquire.

To the diſbanded veteran, in the decline of life, was opened the cheerleſs proſpect of extreme penury, aggravated, in many inſtances, by wounds and inability to labour---His honour and his arms, "the inſtruments of his glory," were all that he poſſeſſed.

Maimed, and disfigured by honourable ſcars, he was become a ſtranger in the place of his nativity---and he was no longer remembered by the companions of his early years. His long-left home was in the occupancy of another, and his future abode was only certain to be wretched.

While oppreſſed by theſe ſenſations, and aſſailed by the angry paſſions, which their ſituation excited, the army were invited, by every conſideration, which the moſt ſeductive perſuaſion could ſuggeſt, to redreſs their wrongs, and reſent the alleged ingratitude of their country.

Argument and eloquence were exhauſted to effect the adoption of this fatal advice.

To counteract the dangerous meaſure---to preſerve inviolate the honour of his troops, and the ſafety of his country, the wiſdom and firmneſs of the virtuous WASHINGTON were immediately interpoſed.

With his heart wrung by the ſufferings of the army

---with his mind deeply affected by the counſel, which had been offered to remedy their grievances---conſcious of their merits, and no leſs ſenſible to the inability of the country to fulfil its ſtipulations, he convened his officers; and preſenting himſelf as mediator between the diſtreſſes of the troops, and the public incapacity, at that time, to relieve them---he addreſſed himſelf to their judgment, their honour, and their patriotiſm.

His opinions, framed on the irreſiſtible concluſion of truth, and urged with all the force of reaſon and ſentiment, were inſtantly adopted---and the ſublime ſpectacle was exhibited of "an army, victorious over its enemy, victorious over itſelf."

In the laſt exerciſe of his military functions, the ſocial intereſts of his country engaged his benevolent attention, and a ſolicitude to promote her political proſperity, employed the reflections of his patriotic mind.

Addreſſing to the Executives of the ſeveral States an affectionate farewell, he unfolded to their view the matured leſſons of experience, in a ſyſtem of advice, eminently calculated to advance the happineſs of their conſtituents---and worthy to be tranſmitted, in indelible characters, to diſtant poſterity.

Thus was the ſplendid ſtructure of his military character completed---and thus was reared, to the glory of confederated America, an ever enduring monument of the pureſt patriotiſm, and the moſt important public ſervices.

The rights of his country maintained---her independence acknowledged---the complaints of his meritorious, ſuffering army appeaſed---and his high truſt, in all its relations, ſacredly fulfilled, he appeared before the great Council of the Nation, to claim the indulgence of retirement, and to reſign the authority, with which he had been inveſted.

A more auguſt ſcene has never been diſplayed. The triumph of virtue and freedom was complete. He retired, amid the bleſſings and applauſe of grateful millions, to the ſhade of private life, and to the enjoyment

of that domeſtic felicity, from which, during eight years of anxiety, toil and danger, he had been detained by an abſtracted devotion to public duty.

However deſirous to call your attention to the uſeful, the virtuous, and exemplary tenor of his private life; yet the rapid ſucceſſion of public events, which ſcarcely permitted him to repoſe from the toils of war, obliges me to refer this intereſting topic to a ſubſequent part of the diſcourſe.

The voice of his country, to which he was ever obedient, was again raiſed to call him from his tranquil and happy retirement.

That frame of government, which, in a period of danger, and under the preſſure of foreign hoſtility, had been ſufficient to conſolidate the intereſts, and to educe the reſources of the United States, was found incompetent, in the relaxation of peace and fancied ſecurity, to control thoſe objects of national concern, which were eſſential to the ſafety and happineſs of the American people.

The fair proſpect of our riſing empire was obſcured. The failure of our national engagements---the diſſolution of our Union---the conſequent evils of rivalry, and the eventual horrors of war, were all impending.

The criſis was alarming beyond expreſſion, and required an immediate interpoſition of the moſt patriotic exertions to avert the threatened calamities.

In the delegated wiſdom and patriotiſm of the ſeveral States, the ſage and virtuous WASHINGTON was again diſtinguiſhed, and again pre-eminent.

Elected, by an unanimous ſuffrage, to preſide over thoſe deliberations, on which the fate of a mighty nation, and the felicity of millions were ſuſpended, the dignity of his character, and the influence of his example, gave to the diſcuſſion of different intereſts a ſpirit of conciliation, which reſulted in the nobleſt conceſſions---and an impreſſion of national deference, in which ſubordinate conſiderations were merged and extinguiſhed.

Yes, my fellow-citizens, to his accurate perception of our ſeveral intereſts---to his juſt conſtruction of what was required to reconcile them, no leſs than to his ſkill and valour in the day of battle, are we indebted for a large portion of our national harmony and ſocial happineſs.

It is not in language to appreciate, with juſt eſtimation, the advantages which, on this emergency, were derived to his country from the mild dignity of his manner, and the harmonizing character of his deportment.

In them was perſonified that accommodation, which the criſis demanded, and which the great inſtrument of our national ſafety moſt happily proclaims in all its proviſions.

On the adoption of this auſpicious ſubſtitute to our imperfect confederation---when the voice of United America was to deſignate the moſt deſerving citizen, to adminiſter the important duties of the executive department, the choice was conformed to the gratitude of the nation, and to the high deſert of her moſt beloved and moſt reſpected patriot.

The illuſtrious WASHINGTON was again the object of undivided eſteem, and the depoſitary of the public confidence.

To him, as to an unerring guide, were committed the difficult and delicate arrangements of a new-formed government, co-extenſive with the limits, and embracing the various intereſts of "our wide-ſpreading empire."

Renouncing the pleaſures and the elegancies of his choſen retreat, he conſented to embark the rich treaſure of his fame on an untried element; and, ſolely actuated by the will of his country, he reſigned to her wiſhes the evening of that life, whoſe morn and meridian had been devoted to her ſervice.

To trace the merits of his civil adminiſtration---to remark the judgment and impartiality, with which its moſt delicate duties were diſcharged---to obſerve the

unwearied inveſtigation, on which his judicious ſelection to office was grounded---to review thoſe opinions, which were ſubmitted, for co-operation, to the other branches of government---to notice the ſcrupulous delicacy with which he abſtained from encroachment on the province of their authority---while he maintained, with undeviating firmneſs, the powers which the Conſtitution had excluſively aſſigned to the executive organ, would far exceed the limits of an eulogium.

They are claſſed in the higheſt order of precedents, and are moſt uſefully referred to the hiſtorical amplification of his inſtructive life.

The immediate effects of ſo much virtue, wiſdom and exertion, were obvious to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver.

Under the auſpices of that government, which the weight of his opinions had ſo largely contributed to frame and to eſtabliſh, and under the happy influence of ſuch an adminiſtration of its proviſions, the proſperity of our country was advanced beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations of patriotiſm.

Hope and happineſs were ſubſtituted to gloom and misfortune; and national reſpect ſucceeded to national degradation.

The labour of the huſbandman, the induſtry of the mechanic, the enterprize of the merchant, were all protected and rewarded.

The ſurplus products of our ſoil were exchanged in profitable barter; the buſy hum of men was again heard in our deſerted harbours, and the canvas of our commerce was ſpread to every gale.

The reſtoration of public credit gave confidence to private tranſaction; and the ſtrict diſpenſation of juſtice ſilenced the laſt murmur of complaint.

It was no leſs honourable to the people of the United States, than to their illuſtrious benefactor, that the acknowledgment of his tranſcendent merits was the delightful theme of every claſs and condition.

Infancy was taught to liſp his praiſe; youth and

manhood poured forth the effuſions of their gratitude, and the bleſſings of age were expreſſed with the fervour of feeling, and the ſolemnity of religion.

States and individuals were emulous to confeſs his worth; he was the boaſt of our nation among ſtrangers, and an object of veneration to every people.

In this happy conjunction of our affairs, the torch of war was lighted in Europe, and threatened to extend its flame to this favoured portion of the globe.

To that guardian care, whoſe unceaſing vigilance watched over us---to the Hero, whoſe protecting arm, in the hour of *inevitable* conflict, had borne aloft the conquering banner of our country, were we indebted for the preſervation of peace, and an exemption from the diſtreſs and danger of foreign war.

Proclaiming to the people of the United States, and to the belligerent powers, the determination of our government to maintain an impartial neutrality, he continued, by an undeviating courſe of honourable policy, to inſure to his country the bleſſings of peace, and the benefits of the moſt advantageous poſition.

During the deſolation of war, her commerce was extended, and her redundant harveſts adminiſtered to the wants of leſs favoured nations.

On the revolution of his official term of ſervice, an opportunity was afforded to expreſs the public ſenſe of his adminiſtration; and it was manifeſted in the moſt ſingular demonſtration of gratitude and applauſe, that has ever been beſtowed.

Having nominated, in the firſt inſtance, to all the offices of the general government; and having unavoidably diſappointed the wiſhes of numerous expectants,---yet, ſuch had been the propriety of his appointments, and ſuch the purity of his conduct, that, on the ſecond election of chief magiſtrate, there was not found, among ſeveral millions of people, a ſingle diſſent from the choice of this immaculate man.

He was unanimouſly re-elected to preſide over their political concerns, and to continue the bleſſings of his adminiſtration.

Among the multiplied advantages of that adminiſtration, the philanthropiſt will review, with peculiar pleaſure, an invariable attention to conciliate the aboriginal inhabitants of our country, and an unremitting endeavour to ameliorate their hapleſs condition.

Regarding the intereſts of this unfortunate race as ſacred, and viewing a compliance with their claims to protection, as among the firſt duties of the government, his beneficent patronage was extended to every object which might promote their welfare, or prevent the evils incident to their ſituation.

To the injunctions of public negociation, he united the admonitions of perſonal ſenſibility, and the moſt benevolent concern for this unhappy people.

The aſtoniſhed ſavage beheld, in the far-famed Chief of an hoſtile nation, the protector of his tribe, and the zealous friend of their happineſs. His doubts of ſafety were changed to admiring confidence; and the vindictive ſpirit of revenge was loſt in a grateful ſenſe of unexpected favour and kindneſs.

Having obtained, by treaty, a ſurrender of the military poſts on our weſtern frontier, he was enabled, in a great meaſure, to carry into effect the magnanimous policy, which he had inſtituted towards the Indian tribes; and to extend, at the ſame time, to the white inhabitants in that quarter of the Union, the ſecurity of peace, and the benefits of a friendly intercourſe with their immediate neighbours.

While intent on the completion of a general pacific ſyſtem, in relation to the affairs of the United States, he was not inſenſible to the mutable policy of nations, nor inattentive to the neceſſary meaſures of military defence.

He believed it eſſential to the ſafety of our extenſive commerce, and to the dignity of our national character, to enter on the formation of a naval eſtabliſhment, which he conſidered as the beſt, and the natural defence of the United States.

The ſanction of his opinion was accordingly given to this important meaſure.

In reviewing the principal features of his public character, and their beneficial reſults, we are led no leſs to applaud the benevolence, than to admire the diſcernment, of his philanthropic and capacious mind.

With native and acquired propenſities to military glory---with every incentive to the exerciſe of arms, which conſummate ſkill in war, or the hope of diſtinction could ſupply---peace was the ruling principle of his conduct, and the tranquil proſperity of his country was the deareſt object of his ambition.

In the grateful belief that his anxious wiſh was accompliſhed, he intimated his intention to decline the honours of his high ſtation, and to withdraw from all public employment.

To this intimation, conveyed in an addreſs to the people of the United States, was ſubjoined a ſeries of opinions, on the ſubject of their public concerns, the legacy of an affectionate father to a beloved family, containing the moſt inſtructive, intereſting, and important advice that has ever been ſubmitted to any nation.

An obſervance of thoſe maxims would inſure our political welfare, and promote our ſocial happineſs---they are no leſs calculated to improve the heart than to inform the judgment---they ſhould be committed to the memory of the young, and the meditation of the old---they are invaluable to the preſent generation---and they will be regarded by ſucceeding ages, as the beſt and higheſt eulogium of this tranſcendent character.

Yielding to his deſire of repoſe, his grateful countrymen invoked the bleſſing of Heaven on the cloſe of his illuſtrious life, and acquieſced in his intention to retire.

Behold him returned to the ſtation of a private citizen, enforcing, by a correct example, thoſe rules of conduct, which, with modeſt diffidence, he had offered to the conſideration of his country.

Diveſted of every diſtinction, and without a perſonal attendant, he mingled in the throng of citizens, and was the firſt to expreſs the homage of his eſteem, which was reſpectful, affectionate, and ſincere, at the inauguration of his ſucceſſor; to whom, no leſs than to the memory of the illuſtrious dead, it is due to remark that, in their perſonal intercourſe, and in all their official relations, the moſt cordial friendſhip and beneficial harmony had uniformly ſubſiſted.

To atteſt the perfection of public principle, it will be forever remembered that the diſtinguiſhed Patriot, who had ſo long, and ſo ably, preſided in the concerns of the nation, conſented to accept a ſecondary commiſſion, at a period of life, when no conſideration but the ſafety of his country, and complete confidence in the meaſures of her government, could have required, or prompted the ſervice of the venerable Chief.

The ſentiments of his judicious and comprehenſive mind, as expreſſed in his own words, on this important occaſion, are too honourable to his memory, too juſt in their application to his ſucceſſor, and too intereſting to our country, in their relation to future events, not to be here recited.

"No one can more cordially approve of the wiſe and prudent meaſures of your adminiſtration; they ought to inſpire univerſal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the ſtate of things, call from Congreſs ſuch laws and means, as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the criſis.

"Satisfied, therefore, that you have ſincerely wiſhed and endeavoured to avert war, and exhauſted, to the laſt drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to Heaven, for the juſtice of our cauſe; and may confidently truſt the final reſult to that kind Providence, who has, heretofore, and ſo often, ſignally favoured the people of theſe United States.

"Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every perſon, of every deſcription, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and eſ-

pecially in a moment like the preſent, when every thing we hold dear and ſacred is ſo ſeriouſly threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commiſſion of Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States."*

Such was the triumph of patriotiſm, and ſuch the dignified completion of his public character.

With the accompliſhments of the hero, and the attributes of the ſtateſman, we are now to connect the intereſting theme of domeſtic life, and the uſeful virtues of his private character.

Favoured of Heaven, he was bleſt in the moſt endeared relation of human ſociety.

The amiable, and much reſpected partner of his happineſs, enjoyed his affection and eſteem, and was worthy to participate the honours of his exalted ſtation.

The practice of his filial piety, which had been diſtinguiſhed at an early age, was continued until the death of his ſurviving parent, with unabated tenderneſs and reſpect.

His fraternal love was exemplary, as it was ſincere; and the munificent proviſions of his will, atteſt the affection, which he bore to his kindred, and the relatives of his family.

Nor was this munificence bounded by the limits of conſanguinity—The intereſts of freedom and ſcience were anxiouſly conſulted, and moſt generouſly advanced.

Age and infirmity were the objects of his kind regard------

And the inſtruction of youth was connected with the emancipation of the bondſman, as a mean of protecting his rights, and rendering him ſafe, and uſeful to ſociety.

The friend, and the ſtranger were received with cordial welcome at his hoſpitable manſion—and his beneficence to his neighbours was returned with the moſt affectionate attachment.

* General WASHINGTON's letter, dated Mount Vernon, 13th July, 1798, to John Adams, Preſident of the United States.

Combining with a general patronage of ſcience, and uſeful inſtitutions, a particular attention to the improvements of agriculture, he diffuſed his obſervation and experience, in this important purſuit, wherever they could be beneficial—extending his correſpondence, on this intereſting ſubject, to other nations.

Such were the outlines of his domeſtic life---and ſuch were his private avocations.

Unable, on a careful review of eminent characters, to diſcover an oppoſite reſemblance to the conſtellation of his virtues and talents, I forbear to enter on partial compariſons, which could not dignify, and would but imperfectly illuſtrate the hero of our country.

Enriched by nature with her choiceſt gifts, ſhe had, with equal liberality, beſtowed upon him the greateſt advantages of external form, and the higheſt degree of intellectual endowment. To the noble port of a lofty ſtature, were united uncommon grace, ſtrength, and ſymmetry of perſon; and, to the commanding aſpect of manly beauty, was given the benignant ſmile, which, inſpiring confidence, created affection.

In being thus minute, I do not mean to arraign your delighted remembrance of the hero, which the ſhort lapſe of a fleeting year has not effaced.

Yet were mine the powers of deſcription to produce a perfect image, I would preſent him to your enraptured imagination—as he was ſeen in battle, calm and collected—as he appeared in council, dignified and ſerene —as he adorned ſociety, gracious and condeſcending.

But, O mournful reflection! that pleaſing, that venerable form now moulders into duſt. Sealed in death are thoſe eyes, which watched over our ſafety. Cloſed forever are thoſe lips, which ſpake peace and happineſs to our country.

Yet the dark night of the tomb ſhall not obſcure the luſtre of his fame; and, when braſs and marble ſhall have fallen to decay, the ſweet remembrance of his virtues, paſſing in proud tranſmiſſion to remoteſt ages, ſhall endure forever.

Eulogy

ON THE ILLUSTRIOUS GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *MILTON*, 22d *February*, 1800.

BY CHARLES PINCKNEY SUMNER.

INDUSTRY pauſes from her once cheering labours—the ſolemn dirge takes place of the ſong of mirth;—our country is in tears, her WASHINGTON is no more!

This day ſhe would fondly have numbered *ſixty-eight* years, ſince propitious Heaven, regardful of her coming trials, had given him to her aid: proud that he had fulfilled his high deſtination, and ſtill continued her faithful defender, ſhe would not have turned a melancholy thought to the perils through which he had conducted her. The lively cannon would have been but the faint echo to her joy; the feſtal board, the ſparkling glaſs and pleaſure-beaming eye would have been but the feeble emblem of national hilarity. Henceforth the night of his death will be conſecrated to ſorrow, and ſhrouded in gloom congenial with the majeſty of her grief. The annual return of this once joyful day, will long be ſacred to her moſt tender, loved ſenſations, and the ſmile her countenance may learn to reſume, will receive a melting charm from the tear ſhe cannot ſuppreſs.

When fame, with ſwoln eye, firſt announced our public calamity; we looked, we heard with a reſponſive ſigh; and becauſe ſhe trembled while ſhe ſpoke, we permitted ourſelves the hope that report might prove illuſive. But this uncertainty, this painful uncertainty, was too dear to endure; the ſolemn knell, the deepening univerſal aſpect of wo ſoon placed beyond the reach of hope, what our boding hearts feared but too true.

Here is a ſubject, my friends, on which you all can be eloquent; it becomes the ſacred place devoted to its contemplation; it excites the beſt, and none but the beſt feelings of Americans: as they prize their country, they cheriſh the memory of her hero, and love at a reſpectful, admiring diſtance, to follow him through the viciſſitudes of her fate.

With a mind expanded by the moſt liberal purſuits, a heart enamoured with the charms of honour, devotion to his country was his firſt, his ruling paſſion. From an early military career, he retired with a blooming reputation to the beſt well-earned enjoyment of life. With eaſy dignity he loſes the ſoldier in the citizen, and graces the arts of peace as well as war. Born for the univerſe, a province is too ſmall a theatre for the diſplay of his talents; and the ſituation of our country ſoon opened the mightier field of his deſtiny.

With conſcious pride he gloried in the proſperity of his king and country; but for colonial degradation and ſubſerviency he had not drawn his ready, his victorious ſword. American patience had been put to the intolerable teſt; the plain of Lexington had drank the blood of its peaceful cultivators; when from that illuſtrious band of patriots, where firſt concentred the wounded ſenſibilities of our country—is WASHINGTON commiſſioned to marſhal and direct the riſing energies of freedom.

It is a needleſs, as it would be a painful taſk, to dwell on facts all know too well; or to reſuſcitate the feelings that are better at reſt. Suffice it to remind you, that yonder hills, almoſt in ſight, firſt received the American hero to the toils of fame. Retaining ſtill the veſtiges of war, they will lecture ſucceeding generations, and teach them to guard their native ſoil from every inſidious, ſelfiſh friend, or haughty foe: their wounded fronts will frown on degeneracy, if every hill in America does not riſe, like the *Heights of Dorcheſter*, to expel invaſion from our indignant ſhores.

In the preſence of WASHINGTON, reſiſtance aſſumed a formidable attitude, confidence looked cheerful, and valour renerved the arm ſtill bleeding from the carnage where WARREN fell. But the too tranſient duration of patriotic fervour,—the genius of our valiant thouſands too unfriendly to the reſtraints of diſcipline,—the poverty and unpreparedneſs of the Colonies to meet the incalculable extent of their object, created anxieties and embarraſſments which very few were permitted to ſhare; which no one perhaps who does not, like him, combine in his character the talents and the feelings of the ſtateſman, the patriot and ſoldier, can duly appreciate.

The hero's mind roſe with the magnitude of his taſk. Oppoſition and defeat itſelf ſerved only to confirm his reſolution, and call forth the reſources of an exhauſtleſs mind.—*Independence* was *declared:* and in the blackeſt hours of diſaſter, WASHINGTON never deſpaired of his country.

Once only (forgive him, freemen) ere his army had become inured to the well directed vollies of diſcipline, the yielding ranks of his retreating ſoldiery diſplayed the frightful impreſſions of a veteran enemy;—for one painful moment he thought all was loſt;—that Americans were unworthy the freedom, for which they too feebly contended; and ſhocked to deſperation, wiſhed by a fortunate, honourable death to free himſelf from the intolerable ſpectacle of his country enſlaved.

When terror ſpread her darkeſt clouds over our land; when an unfed, unclothed army marked the ice and the ſnow with the blood of their retreating footſteps; when the ſword of deſtruction ſeemed ſuſpended only by a hair; while rumour with her hundred mouths, if poſſible, magnified our diſtreſſes; and tortured, languiſhing hope almoſt breathed her laſt;—the brilliant achievement at Princeton turned aſide the current of fate; the accompliſhed, too ſanguine Burgoyne is overwhelmed in the riſing tide of our fortune; the cloſe inveſted ſtandards of York-Town droop

ſubmiſſion to the allied arms; deluded deſpotiſm ſoon gave up the fruitleſs toils of ſubjugation; the ſhattered remnants of baffled invaſion are withdrawn, and independence is confirmed.

The patriot army now felt the too ſcanty, deluſive recompenſe for their heroic toils;—ſeven years with joyful obedience had they heard the orders of their Chief thunder along the embattled line: the wounds of injured bravery bled afreſh; they recoiled at the idea of diſſolution. Then might ambition have ſeen his time, and ſmiled; then would have trembled the liberties of America, had WASHINGTON aſpired to any other crown than her happineſs. In language ardent as his heroiſm, tender as his affection, he appeals to their untarniſhed honour; they revere him as a father:—the appeal was reſiſtleſs. They ſaw the conflicting emotions of his breaſt; thoſe eyes, which had long witneſſed their toils, which had often ſmiled at their glory, and wept at their ſufferings, with keen anxiety now pierced their ſouls; they forget themſelves:—a pearly tear ſteals down every cheek; the latent evil ſpark is quenched; their patriotiſm reflames; with one heart and voice they reſolve to confide in the juſtice of the country they had left all to ſerve, and give the world the illuſtrious, rare example of "an army victorious over its enemies, victorious over itſelf."

His farewell interview with theſe his dear-loved companions can now be faintly imagined: How he ſtood, how he looked, when each advanced to take the laſt friendly, impaſſioned embrace; when with a glaſs in his hand, and tears gliſtening in his eyes, he wiſhed to each his future life might be happy, as his paſt had been honourable;—let thoſe ſpeak who have witneſſed, let thoſe attempt to deſcribe who feel themſelves equal to the melting ſcene.

The war-worn veteran, whoſe feelings have not ruſted with his ſword, will relate the ſtory to his liſtening ſon;—ſmile to ſee his warm heart ſuſceptive to the touch of glory—and fondly deſtine him for that pro-

feſſion, of which no dalliance in the lap of eaſe has obliterated the charms, no reverſe of fortune allayed his admiration.

Americans, what a vaſt weight of your revolution did this mighty man ſuſtain! Taxes were indeed great, were burdenſome; but think how often your army was obliged to evade a deciſive blow; think of the complicated hardſhips they endured (the relation of which might make you ſhudder)—becauſe the flame of public ſpirit too ſoon died away, and the reſources of the country had become inacceſſible. What muſt WASHINGTON have often felt! Every eye in America, in wondering, doubtful Europe, was fixt on him. He was a man of humanity; not a centinel felt a grievance he did not painfully commiſerate. He was a man of conſummate bravery; and, to add to the full meaſure of his calamity, the country, whoſe fate was hourly in his hand, began to murmur, to reproach him with delay. Delicate ſituation! unconquerable greatneſs of ſoul! His reputation, dearer to a ſoldier than life, he ſacrificed to your good.

Americans, the hoſtile cannon has ceaſed to ſhake your houſes and your hills; the falling ſhell no more with horrid glare ſwells the terrors of the night;—think one moment in peace of the untold diſtreſſes that might, that would have been your portion, had not your toils for freedom been crowned with ſucceſs. The Rubicon was paſſed; the hour of compromiſe elapſed. WASHINGTON! the heart recoils at his fate, and reſigns it to your own imaginations. As for you—you might have received his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon—might have repoſed in the tranquil deſpair of ſubjugated India—or been bleſt with the liberty, under which diſtracted, bleeding Ireland now groans; Cornwallis might here, inſtead of there, have been governing the provinces his myrmidons had ravaged; which his preſumptuous imagination had fondly marked out as an empire for himſelf! Happy countrymen! retire to your homes, however humble; enjoy your peace,

your competence and your love!—kiſs the children that throng around your knee, and teach them to bleſs GOD, that they are not born to the inheritance of ſlavery, nor doomed to the horrors of mutual deſtruction!

Surrendering his commiſſion, and bidding adieu to public life, WASHINGTON, amid the gratulations of thouſands, through ways ſtrewed with flowers, retired to thoſe peaceful ſhades, of which long abſence and mighty cares had heightened the enjoyment.

He retired; but he did not retire within himſelf. His mind was intent to bleſs his fellow-men. Unprotected worth found in him a warm patron and friend: Poverty repreſſed her ſigh, forgot injuſtice, and ſmiled complacent on the bounty of his ſoul. The public welfare was ſtill the darling object of his heart, and whatever could promote it, it was his chief happineſs to purſue.

The picture which our common country preſented on the attainment of peace is freſh in every mind. Her victory had ſecured her freedom, but ſuch a freedom as ſecured too few of the bleſſings of ſocial life, and threatened to be of ſhort duration. The States breathed hard from their ſtruggle, and exhauſted with the burden and heat of the revolutionary day, were diveſting themſelves of the bands of a too feeble confederation; and faſt diſſolving into imbecility and diſgrace. Faith was worn out; credit had been ſwoln till it had burſt; Juſtice, not only blind, but deaf and dumb, with ſcales reverſed and blunted ſword, could neither help her votaries, nor protect herſelf; the defenders of their country almoſt addreſſed themſelves to her compaſſion; the poor ſoldier begged his bread through the land he had ſaved; and the fair, but trembling fabric of ſociety almoſt threatened ruin to thoſe it ſcarcely ſheltered.

The preſcient *Sage of Mount-Vernon* had foreſeen theſe approaching evils; and early recommended to the ſeveral States the adoption of ſuch general meaſ-

ures as could alone give permanence to the national felicity, that independence put within their reach.

The body politic ſtill ſurvived healthful and ſtrong in the feelings, mnnners and principles, which immemorial virtuous habit had incorporated into her nature. The hectic of internal faction had ſcarcely enfeebled her vitals, nor had foreign intrigue aſſumed the hardihood to ſeduce her from herſelf, and tear her limb from limb.

At length, "in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty;" the Federal Conſtitution of the United States, the reſult of his preſiding wiſdom, was adopted, as it was formed in "a ſpirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and conceſſion, which the peculiarity of our political ſituation rendered indiſpenſable." God grant that in this ſpirit it be long preſerved, that ſo it may preſerve thoſe for whoſe boon it is deſigned!

At the unanimous call of his fellow-citizens, which he could never hear but with duty and reſpect, he relinquiſhes every private conſideration to make a people happy. Laborious days and ſleepleſs nights are now his welcome portion: The Government of your choice commences its auſpicious operation, and WASHINGTON preſides. Say, did not then every countenance look contentment; every dwelling ſpeak proſperity, and your fields aſſume a more luxurant ſmile? Commerce, then ſafe in her innocence, ſpread your riſing name to the borders of the earth, and wafted you the productions of every clime. You rapidly grew, the envy of the world; were acknowledged happieſt, as freeſt, of mankind, and diſappointed the doating wiſh of thoſe, who ſeek with eagle eye, in the miſcarriage of republics, a pretext for the enormities of deſpotiſm.

Americans, this is a trait of the enchanting picture which Europe admired, confeſſed was yours, and kindled into freedom, while ſhe viewed. Will you diſclaim it? does too cloſe inſpection and intimacy with

the original deſtroy its truth? is it too highly coloured? —Alas, WASHINGTON was not omnipotent! Earth is not a paradiſe!

For eight years he conducted the bark of ſtate; the political ſky was tempeſtuous, the winds and the waves were ſometimes unhappily in adverſe directions; her path was untraverſed, and various minds prevailing with regard to her courſe; many ſeemed more diſpoſed to counſel the pilot than obey his orders. Strict juſtice was the compaſs by which he ſteered; he reſpected the wiſhes of all, and never went counter to the advice of thoſe whom it was his duty to conſult; amid innumerable difficulties the way of ſafety was that of glory. Sedulouſly regarding the intereſts of all, he relied with juſt confidence on the attachment of an omnipotent majority. With the conſcious invulnerability of virtue, he pardoned the harmleſs, expected aſperſions of the unworthy; and purſued the firm reſolve of his unbiaſſed equal mind. The arduous difficulties of republican elevation were at length appreciated; and all acquieſced in his decree. Having navigated her through the dangers of her outſet, accuſtomed her powers to the gale; and done all that human wiſdom and integrity could effect, if not all that extravagance could wiſh; he gave affectionate farewell advice to thoſe on board, well calculated to make them wiſe to ſalvation; and reſigning the helm to able, faithful, experienced hands, ſought the tranquil privacy which a far ſpent glorious life had rendered "as neceſſary as welcome."

But his feelings were too keen for his happineſs. Our rich, unprotected commerce on all ſides falling a devoted prey; our country meeting the indignity abroad, which her upright, pacific policy had not deſerved, and compelled to aſſume a defenſive poſture; her WASHINGTON is ſtill himſelf. Though mighty cares had impaired his ſtrength, the venerable ſage with ready hand reſumes his faithful ſword—that ſword, whoſe unſullied juſtice did "blind men with its beams,"—and like that of Eden flame every way to guard invaded night.

—America was in array; for who would not throng the ſtandard he would raiſe—who would not crowd the ranks of war in the cauſe for which WASHINGTON would contend?

Here was the laſt ſtage of his long career of renown. The pride of his country, the wonder of mankind has, like a ſoldier, obeyed the high ſummons of the God of armies. His aſſociates in the toils of glory were hourly falling. He ſtood almoſt alone on the field of fame, and was prepared for the expected ſtroke of fate. The calm fortitude and preſence of mind, with which he had often ſtood the ſhock of battle, did not forſake him in his laſt unequalled triumphant conflict.

The worthy diſconſolate partner of his heart, we thank for the life-long ſmile with which ſhe ſmoothed his brow; and gave his magnanimous cares to the ſervice of his country. We wiſh her every conſolation earth or heaven can beſtow. May the decline of her life's mild day be gilded with the calm ſunſhine of the ſoul, and future generations riſe up and call her bleſſed! His fellow-labourers in war and peace, we thank for the perſevering fortitude and wiſdom with which they aided our beloved Chief; they have claims on us which we cannot cancel, but with glory,—which grateful, admiring poſterity will be too proud to evade. Theſe he loved; to theſe we reſign, with painful ſympathy, the ſad pre-eminence of grief. But, my fellow-countrymen, we were all near and dear to him,—and his memory ſhall endure—ſhall be revered forever.

Bright muſt be the talents that preſume to illuſtrate one action of his life. The unanimity with which he was twice elected Preſident; the univerſal, deep-felt regret, when he declined their future ſuffrages; the conſtant devotedneſs to his fellow-citizens, which no period of his life ceaſed to manifeſt; and the deep aſpect of ſorrow this day preſents;—theſe all deſignate the man who, moſt pre-eminently, united all hearts; they ſpeak his only adequate, exalted eulogy, and declare in language unequivocally loud, a nation's una-

bated confidence and love. To praiſe him in any audience the world could produce, would be a dull diſplay of arrogance; with Americans it would be intolerable; for who does not love his country, and revere her beſt earthly benefactor? who cannot ſee the ſun in the firmament? who cannot hear the thunder of the ſky? The taper only deadens itſelf that preſumes to increaſe the ſplendour of noon day.

What is the noble endowment he did not poſſeſs? With an urbanity, that treated with the moſt obliging reſpect thoſe from whoſe opinion he could not but diſſent; and with a prudence that in any other character might well have compenſated the greateſt moral deficiency, he marſhalled the phalanx of his virtues to the benefit of his fellow men. The ſpirit of republicaniſm almoſt reſigned to him the ſceptre of your affections; he ruled in your hearts. Our hiſtory is ſcarcely more than his biography, our freedom and happineſs the nobleſt, we truſt unfading picture of his ſervices and virtues.

What was once WASHINGTON has been depoſited with every teſtimonial of gratitude our country can beſtow: On this occaſion only does ſhe lament her republican ſimplicity, unequal to her pomp of wo; but ſhe conſoles herſelf, that wherein her magnificence has been deficient, her affection has been tranſcendent; and that her hero has departed with a luſtre that kings may ſigh for, but ſigh in vain.

The Sun of Glory is ſet; the hemiſphere is darkened; ſmaller luminaries may now riſe and ſhine: The Sun of Glory is ſet; but his courſe is bright with inextinguiſhable beams. He has thrown light on moſt beclouded regions, and taught mankind the dignity of man. Illuſtrious nation, over whom he has ſhone, to whoſe temperament his mild radiance was congenial; —happy thoſe, who, in other climes attempting to move in his orbit, neither conſume themſelves nor their country in the flame they raiſe, but cannot control. Thrice bleſt mankind, where liberty can wear a tearleſs ſmile, and virtue truſt her conſtant friends.

The ſhades of Vernon, to remoteſt time, will be trod with awe; the banks of Potowmac will be hallowed ground. The aged oak ſhall ſigh plaintive in the breeze. The little ſkiff ſhall ſuſpend the labouring oar, and in ſoft melancholy twilight, glide in ſilence by the ſacred ſpot, where drooping willows mark the ſage's tomb. The alert ſeaman, while his well trimmed bark moves majeſtic on the moaning wave, ſhall, with proud reſpect, ſtrike the topſail he has reared in every quarter of the globe.

In ſome far diſtant commercial port, our fellow-countrymen hail this day with joy. The flags of all nations lightly wave from a foreſt of maſts; all is gaiety. Around the bounteous board they wiſh health and long life to him, whoſe name on their ſea-letter has ſerved them inſtead of cannon, inſuring them reſpect wherever they diſplayed the American ſtars. Some neighbouring fortreſs ſhakes the friendly coaſt with its reſponſive roar; the ſons of Columbia caſt a long look of filial reſpect to their native land, and unconſcious of the mournful ſpectacle ſhe now preſents,—rejoice that her defender lives!——Good ſouls! let them enjoy the paſſing hour of mirth, "where ignorance is bliſs, 'tis folly to be wiſe."

Illuſtrious man! in what region of the earth has not thy name been heard with praiſe? Poſterity ſhall admire and love thee:—And if, in the vaſt orb of thy glory, our darkened optics can deſcry a ſpot, we truſt it will, like thoſe of the ſun, be ſoon abſorbed in thy pure effulgence. The temporary clouds, which, for thy country, thou haſt permitted to obſcure thy deeds, time will ſoon diſpel, and thy fame will brighten with the flight of years.

AMERICANS,

FOR a life devoted to your ſervice, what does WASHINGTON deſerve? The riſing trophied column ſhall from far attract the admiring eye. The enduring ſtatue with emulative care will preſent to revering

poſterity his auguſt attitude and awful form. Hiſtory ſhall be immortal as juſt to his worth. Poeſy ſhall robe him in unborrowed charms. A city, after the majeſtic model of his mind, bearing his name, ſhall concentrate our national glory, as he does our affection. Theſe a grateful empire will voluntarily pay: but, he deſerves more; he deſerves the only reward he would ever accept; he deſerves that you be faithful to yourſelves, that you be free, united and happy: that party aſperity from this memorable day ſubſide; and all with liberal eye ſeek private intereſt in the common weal.

Thus ſhall your elective government, the true mirror of the general will, preſent an image that can never be diſowned, and millions riſe a ſtanding army in ſupport of the conſtitution and laws by which they are bleſt. Inſurrection from the quiet ſleep of death will not rear her devoted head; invaſion never dream of your ſhores, or be appalled at the view. Peace at home will inſure invincibility abroad. You ſhall fear no ſhock but that of the univerſe. The old worthies, who with WASHINGTON illumed and cheriſhed the tempered, undying flame of freedom, ſhall never ſhake their white locks, and ſigh that their labours have been in vain. Your union ſhall ſubſiſt to everlaſting generations, the beſt, the deſerved *MONUMENT* to his fame, who led the army that achieved your independence; who preſided in the councils that commenced your endleſs career of happineſs.

A Funeral Oration

ON GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at OXFORD, *Maſſachuſetts*, at the Requeſt of the Field Officers of the Brigade, ſtationed at that Place, on the 15th Jan. 1800.

BY JOSIAH DUNHAM, A. M.
Capt. 16th U. S. Regiment.

AMERICANS!

THE Sun of our glory has ſet forever; ——WASHINGTON IS NO MORE!!——The pride of Columbia has fallen! He that was mighty among the valiant has failed! The glory has departed from Iſrael; and the tents of Cuſhan are in affliction!

Afflicting and painful indeed muſt be that event, which has clad five millions of people in mourning, and filled a nation with tears: an event, which has, at once, bid the pipe and the tabor to ceaſe in our land; which has turned our joys into ſorrow, and our mirth into heavineſs: an event, which robbed America of her boaſt, Humanity of her pride, and has electrified the World with aſtoniſhment and grief. And, is it not ſingular, nay, is it not beyond all parallel, that this intereſting, this extraordinary event is no more than *the death of* ONE MAN?

"O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!
"We ne'er ſhall look upon his like again."

When I contemplate the ſolemnity of the occaſion which has brought us together, ſtruck with a pious awe and veneration for the illuſtrious Character, whoſe manes we are about to entomb, I ſhrink from the holy theme, and would fain evade the taſk this day aſſigned me. Emboldened, however, by a ſenſe of duty, I will humbly purſue, with others, the delightful, yet beaten track, where, though novelty will not ſurpriſe, yet neither praiſe can ſurfeit, nor eulogy be exhauſted. Par-

don me, venerable ſhade! if, with unequal ſtep, and unhallowed feet, I tread the ſacred ground.

To attempt a complete portrait of this great man, would be in vain. It is a taſk reſerved for the genius of future ages: a taſk, which will engroſs the talents of the poet, the painter, the biographer, and hiſtorian, when the names of George, of Lewis, of Frederick, and of Paul, would have been long ſince forgotten, had they not have vegetated on a throne, in the ſame era in which WASHINGTON lived.

To enumerate all thoſe exploits, which have ſtamped his character and immortalized his memory, would be to narrate every incident of his life, from the cradle to the tomb—to ſwell volume upon volume, till "the world itſelf could not contain the books which ſhould be written." They exhibit one uniform ſcene of goodneſs, greatneſs, and ſublimity—one bright galaxy of glory, which, in a comparative view, darkens and eclipſes the brighteſt perfections of all who have gone before him.

It was WASHINGTON, who reared our infant country from a ſtate of childhood and weakneſs, to that of manhood and ſtrength; from a ſtate of bondage and oppreſſion, to that of freedom and independence; from a ſtate of anarchy, war, and miſery, to that of order, peace and happineſs. It was WASHINGTON, who confirmed to us the poſſeſſion of this American Canaan; who, through a wilderneſs of dangers, and a Red Sea of blood, ſtood, under GOD, OUR SHELTERING CLOUD BY DAY, AND OUR PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT. He it was, who ſeated us beneath the ſhadow of the peaceful olive; who converted our "ſwords into ploughſhares, and our ſpears into pruning-hooks;" who gave us to eat of the trees of light and liberty, in this our political paradiſe. Like yon bright orb of day, when not a cloud obſcures the vaſt horizon around, he has riſen and ſhone with genial ſplendour and unborrowed majeſty; while kings, potentates, and princes, have ſhrunk abaſhed from his preſence, and, like the twinkling ſtars of night, hid their diminiſhed heads.

At the commencement of our revolution, when the dark ſtorm was gathering and burſting upon us; when the iron tempeſt of war was already howling in our ears; when the galling chains of ſlavery were riveting on our heels; when not a gleam of light nor a ray of hope could be diſcerned through the impenetrable gloom that enveloped our country; when deſpair was our ſecret companion, and the ſons of little men were afraid; then it was, that the ſame ſtar which once ſtood over Bethlehem, and guided the wiſe men of the Eaſt to the place of our SAVIOUR'S birth, now ſtood over Mount Vernon, and conducted the wiſe men of the Weſt to the abode of our political ſaviour.

Compare WASHINGTON (if their characters will admit of compariſon) with the heroes, the patriots, the ſages, the legiſlators of antiquity. View him in all his important relations to himſelf, to his country, and to his GOD. Do we not find him as much their ſuperior, as the golden ſun is ſuperior to the ſwift meteor of night, or to the dim luſtre of the rayleſs mock-ſun in the circumambient cloud?

As a hero, compare him with Cromwell, with Ceſar, with Alexander. Alas! where is their greatneſs? what were their virtues?—Curſe on ſuch virtues—they have undone their country! Cromwell, with ſacrilegious zeal, deſtroyed a throne to enthrone himſelf. Ceſar, with electric rapidity, ſubdued nations; but "Ceſar was ambitious"—he enſlaved an empire! Alexander, meanly brave, and wretchedly victorious, wantonly overran the world, laid waſte the faireſt portion of humanity, and, with undiſcriminating madneſs and fury, cried, "Havoc! and let ſlip the dogs of war" among the nobleſt works of GOD!

WASHINGTON fought—not to conquer, but to defend; not to ruin the foe, but to protect his people; not to enſlave a country, but to free, to bleſs, and to buiid up a nation—to eſtabliſh it on the broad baſis of equal rights, under the enjoyment of liberty, and under the protection of law.

At the birth of our independence, in the days which tried men's ſouls, when every hand was weak, and every heart faint, who, like WASHINGTON, could have united all hearts, and ſtrengthened all hands? Who, like him, could have riſen ſuperior to all the trials, perplexities, and dangers, which, like a dark cloud, hovered over us, and threatened our political exiſtence? Who elſe could have combined the varying intereſts, reconciled diverſe opinions, and ſoothed the diſcordant paſſions, with which our infant country was torn, paralyſed, and convulſed? Who, but WASHINGTON, could have ſtept forward, with prudence, fortitude and zeal, to command, as well the affections as the confidence of trembling millions? Who, like him, without the weakneſſes, which depreciate, or the vices, which diſgrace human nature, could have diſplayed all the virtues, and all the talents, which ennoble man, or adorn the hero? Who, but WASHINGTON, amidſt the contending elements of our revolution, with modeſt dignity, and unbaffled ſkill, could have "rode upon the whirlwind and directed the ſtorm?" Always calm and ſerene, always firm and inflexible, always prompt and decided—in ſhort, always himſelf, he has been found prepared for every event, and adequate to every truſt.

It was his perſevering prudence, his cautious circumſpection, his unparalleled moderation, which, in our revolutionary war, out-generaled Britiſh ſkill, and eventually turned the ſcale, which long had poiſed dubious. Gradually weakening and wearing out the enemy, while his own army was diſciplining, and his own reſources increaſing, at length,

"He gain'd, like FABIUS, by delay."

Though intrepid as Hannibal, and fortunate as Ceſar, yet mildneſs and humanity were prominent traits in his character. He never pierced a fallen foe!

After eight years' faithful and gratuitous ſervice, at the head of our victorious armies, he cheerfully ſacrificed, upon the altar of his grateful country, the mighty harveſt of laurels he had won, and great, like Cincin-

natus, returned to the plough—to the exerciſe of his domeſtic virtues, and, the ever favourite object of his heart, the cultivation of the ſoft arts of peace. Wonderful man!—Here was a ſight the gods beheld with pleaſure! Like the hero of Oſſian, he was terrible in the battles of his ſteel. His ſword was like lightning in the field; his voice like thunder on the diſtant hills. Many fell by his arm; they were conſumed in the flames of his wrath! But when he returned from the war, how peaceful was his brow! His face was like the ſun after rain; like the moon in the ſilence of the night; calm as the breaſt of the lake, when the loud wind is laid!

Once more called from his philoſophic retreat, in the ſhades of Mount Vernon, by the unanimous voice of his country, to the adminiſtration of a government, in the formation of whoſe Conſtitution he was himſelf an important agent, who will pretend to ſay, that his virtues or his talents ſhone leſs conſpicuouſly in the cabinet, than in the field? Unverſed in the policy and intrigues of courts, untaught in the theoretical ſpeculations of fire-ſide philoſophers, and unacquainted with the metaphyſical jargon of ſchool-bred politicians, he poſſeſſed a thorough, and an intuitive knowledge of the human heart. Superior to Solon or Lycurgus, he was that ſelf-taught ſage, that heaven-inſpired patriot and legiſlator, who clearly comprehended all the ſprings and all the motives of human nature and human actions. He underſtood, not only thoſe principles, which conſtitute the intereſts, the relations, and the dependencies, mutually ſubſiſting between man and man; but his ideas were as extended as the vaſt empire of Reaſon; ſo that a knowledge of the relative intereſts of his country, with regard to foreign nations, and of the meaſures, which would moſt effectually promote and ſecure them, were perfectly familiar to his capacious mind. Suffice it to ſay, that from theſe intereſts, during an eight years' preſidency, in a period as eventful and dangerous as war itſelf, he was never once known

to ſwerve. When theſe appeared permanently ſecured, after having bequeathed us the rich legacy of his laſt counſel, and having reſigned the helm of government to a ſucceſſor, worthy of himſelf, he again retired, laden with the benedictions of his country, to the boſom of his family—to his native walks, and tranquil ſhades :—fondly hoping to devote the evening of his days, and the laſt glimmerings of life's feeble lamp, to the enjoyment of his friends, and the ſervice of his GOD.

Would to Heaven it had been thus!—But, alas! the neutral rights of our country are invaded, our commerce is plundered, our citizens inſulted, and our government abuſed ; and again behold the hero clad in arms! His ſword is drawn, his bow is bent, and he once more ſtands, though in a ſubordinate ſphere, the pride, the ſtrength, the bulwark of his country! Venerable hero! ſuch haſt thou been.

In the private character of WASHINGTON, we find the delight, the ornament, the wonder of man! Prompt at every call of duty, in whatever ſphere or ſtation, he exhibits a uniform pattern of morality, induſtry and economy. Feelingly alive to all the tender charities of our nature, he always clothed the naked, and filled the hungry with good things. He ſoothed affliction, commiſerated misfortune, raiſed up the bowed down, diſſipated the dark clouds of the diſconſolate, or gilded their gloom with the calm ſunſhine of peace. Venerable old man! ſuch were thy perfections, that "the tongue of ſlander never dared to impeach the purity of thy conduct; nor the eye of envy to raiſe its malignant glance to the elevation of thy virtues." And ſuch was the gratitude and affections of thy countrymen, that not a ſigh nor a prayer, from their boſoms, eſcaped to Heaven, but what was "winged with benizons" for thee!

Great as he was in life, he was ſtill more ſublimely grand and majeſtic in death. See him on his dying couch—Calm and dignified in his diſtreſs, he has fought the good fight, and Death to him has no terrors!!—

With his own firm hand he closes his eyes——and is gone!—His form is now no more the terror of the valiant. Dim and feeble is the Chief, who travelled in strength and brightness before. He rests in the dark and narrow house of the tomb. The feeble will find his bow at home, but they will not be able to bend it. Fallen is the arm of battle! Deep is the sleep of the dead; low their pillow of dust; damp and cold the couch of their repose. When, O, when will it be morn in the grave to bid the slumberer awake! Farewell, thou first in every field, farewell!—The field shall behold thee no more; no more the dark wood be lightened with the splendour of thy steel. Thou hast left no son; but the song shall preserve thy name. Future times shall hear of thee. The sons of Columbia shall be sad, and the tear of the young virgin will fall! And well may we weep——

> "Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus,
> "Tam cari capitis?"——

But, my countrymen! while we are paying this last sad tribute of respect to the ashes of our dear departed Chief; while we entomb his relics in the earth, and inurn his memory in our hearts,—let us not forget to emulate his virtues in our lives. The husband, the parent, the friend, the neighbour, the citizen, the Christian, or the man, can never deserve higher eulogy than this,—that his deportment, in his appropriate sphere, resembles that of a WASHINGTON.

A friend to our holy religion, he was ever guided by its pious doctrines, and had embraced the tenets of the Episcopal Church; yet his charity, unbounded as his immortal mind, led him equally to respect every denomination of the followers of JESUS. Meek and distrustful of himself, he was liberal and candid to others. Superior to the little prejudices which subsist among different sects—prejudices, which deform the beauty and destroy the harmony of the religious world, he loved, and wept, and prayed—for all.

In his Masonic character was exemplified an ency-

clopedia of Maſonic virtues. Long has he ſtood a majeſtic column in the bright temple of perfection. Let every Maſon labour by his example—he will find refreſhment in the South, and his reward in the Weſt. He will ſoon reach the high meridian of excellence, and be admitted into the inner chamber of that temple, which is made without hands. There he will again behold his Maſter;—there he will meet and embrace his brother,

"In that Grand Lodge, that's far awa'."

In his military career, we find diſplayed all that is great and ſublime in the ſoldier. Let the youthful warrior read his life; let it be his darling theme by day, and his meditation by night; let him ſtudy his example, and copy his virtues, and he will be great, he will be immortal!

The war-worn veteran, who, with him in danger, has long borne the burden and heat of the day, crowned with laurels of unfading green, will at length reſt with him in that world, where wars and toils can never come.

True, my companions in arms, we have loſt our leader! To us this affliction is peculiarly painful and diſtreſſing. Let this conſole us—that he has gone before us to receive the reward of his labours—to join the worthy band of patriots and heroes, who fought and bled by his ſide.

Behold him, like Elijah, aſcending to heaven in the bright chariot of his glory! Well may we exclaim, with the forſaken Eliſha, "My father! my father! The chariot of Iſrael, and the horſemen thereof!"

In whatever point of view we conſider this great man, we ſtill find him to have been "a light to our feet, and a lamp to our paths." Our Moſes in the wilderneſs, our Samſon in the field, and our Solomon in counſel. "Firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the affections of his country." But, alas! he was a "beam that has failed;" and will not darkneſs now gather on our land? Though his departure was in re-

nown, yet who knows but it is the loud harbinger of approaching calamity? Who can tell what may be the next page in the vaſt volume of futurity? Written by the finger of GOD, who maketh "darkneſs his pavilion," who can tell whether it be in letters of gold, or in characters of blood? Who knows, but that, even now, the dawn of our national glory is overcaſt; that the morning of our political happineſs already lowers; that the loud tempeſt of our country's ruin is collecting around us; that the war of contending elements, and the terrible thunders of Mount Sinai, are ready to burſt upon our heads; and that WASHINGTON, ever the peculiar care of Heaven, is now ſnatched from among the victims of vengeance, into Abraham's boſom, as a refuge from the impending ſtorm?

Bleſſed be the GOD of our fathers! it is not ſo!—No—he was ſent to work out our political ſalvation; he has accompliſhed his miſſion; he has finiſhed his work; and he is now hearing pronounced that glorious euge—"Well done! good and faithful ſervant! enter thou into the joys of thy Lord!"

Like the good prophet of old, he has left his mantle behind him, and lo! it reſts on Eliſha! We have an ADAMS in the cabinet; we have a HAMILTON in the field! Our land will ſtill be bleſt. We have both the precepts and example of WASHINGTON to guide us. He will ſtill continue to be our guardian angel; and may we not hope for his interceſſion with HIM, who doeth his will in the armies of heaven?

He is not dead, but removed—removed from Mount Vernon below, to Mount Zion above.

"From Vernon's Mount behold the Hero riſe!
Reſplendent forms attend him through the ſkies!
The ſhades of war-worn veterans round him throng,
And lead, enwrapt, their honour'd Chief along!
A laurel wreath th' immortal WARREN bears,
An arch triumphal MERCER's hand prepares;
Young LAWRENCE, erſt th' avenging bolt of war,
With port majeſtic, guides the glittering car;
MONTGOMERY's godlike form directs the way,
And GREENE unfolds the gates of endleſs day;
While Angels, "trumpet-tongued," proclaim through air,
"Due honours for the FIRST OF MEN prepare!"

Behold the venerable form of the hero, diffidently meek and majeſtic, approach the throne of GOD! See him, with tearful ſolicitude, ſublimely bending, to implore protection for his darling country; while the marſhalled hoſts of heaven are drawn up in regular battalia, to welcome, with preſented arms, the immortal ſtranger; while ſaints, ſeraphs, and archangels, in harmonious concert, ſhout—"He comes! he comes! —the hero comes!"

A Diſcourſe

OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Delivered *December* 29, 1799.

BY JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND,
Miniſter of the New South Church, *Boſton.*

JOB xxix. 25.

I CHOSE OUT THEIR WAY, AND SAT CHIEF, AND DWELT AS A KING IN THE ARMY, AS ONE THAT COMFORTETH THE MOURNERS.

THE great deſtroyer has now obtained a full triumph. WASHINGTON, the delight of mankind, the boaſt of his countrymen, ſleeps in duſt: a conqueror, yet vanquiſhed by the laſt enemy: a ſage, yet unſkilled to avert the ſtroke of death. Is then the curtain drawn between us, and the earthly ſcene to him cloſed forever? Is he covered with the darkneſs of the grave, no more to ſhare our fortunes, to receive our prayers? Is that heart cold which uſed to beat high for our welfare; and that ear cloſed, which met our daily benedictions?

Where is the unmoved countenance, the unmoiſtened eye? Whoſe boſom has not heaved its ſighs? whoſe heart not felt a wound? The wife has loſt the companion of her early and declining years; the orphan, a vigilant protector; the ſervant, a beloved maſter; the private aſſociate, an affectionate friend and kind neighbour. Domeſtic connexions! we allow your tide of affection to flow; and we ſhare your affliction. But there is a wide ſea of public ſorrow, which drowns the ſtreams of individual grief. Americans have loſt

a father; mankind a friend. The mourners are not a family or neighbourhood, a town or ſtate; they are a nation, a world. Well may perſons of every age and condition manifeſt emotion; the old man faulter out his ſorrow, and youth chaſtiſe its gaiety; the gentle ſex pay their ſoft tribute of affection, and the hardy veteran wipe his ſtern eye at the remembrance of his General.

America, without WASHINGTON, reſembles the earth without the light of day. Aſſociated as he was with all we loved and valued in our country—poſſeſſions, purſuits, and pleaſures, for a time, ſink in our eſteem. We exulted in our country, becauſe it gave him birth; we thought better of our nature, becauſe it produced ſuch a man. The ſenſe of this gift of Heaven increaſed the fervour of our devotions; and our national felicity ſeemed to be crowned in WASHINGTON. Time has been, when, indeed, his ſervices were more immediately neceſſary; and the political ſalvation of his country ſeemed to depend on the continuance of his life. But if his departure at this time has a leſs unpropitious aſpect upon the public proſperity, yet it cannot be thought unimportant to the momentous intereſts of the empire; whilſt it arreſts our melancholy feelings, and wounds our fond attachments to his name. His ſun approached the horizon; yet, with delighted eyes, we gazed on its parting ſplendour, believing, that, if clouds ſhould thicken to a tempeſt in our political ſky, it would ſhine out in all its meridian brightneſs, and chaſe them away. Though he had left the drama to diſtinguiſhed actors, yet he might again be called out to ſupport a part in ſome maſter ſcene, to which no other man might be found ſuited: Nay, he was already prepared, if the cataſtrophe ſhould require it, to ſtep upon the ſtage, and be the hero of the eventful tragedy, into which his country ſeemed to be haſtening.

Was the nation to be rouſed from dangerous ſleep? his name was ſounded in their ears. Was faction to be driven from the light? it was pointed to his awful

frown. Was a foreign foe to be deterred from invaſion? it was ſhown his hand upon his ſword. With him its patron, the federal adminiſtration would not deſpair of final ſupport; with him their leader, the armies of America would be ineffectually held up to odium, would be created with facility, and, in every conflict, would feel invincible. In the preſent dubious aſpect of our national intereſts, every thing was hoped, in aid of the preſent ſyſtem, from the part which he would take, in caſe of civil diſſenſion, or increaſed danger from foreign arts or arms.

Whilſt the life of this perſonage was ſo intereſting to the public welfare, it was not leſs ſubſervient to the private virtues of the man, the citizen, and the Chriſtian. With him its patron and model, no moral virtue wanted a living eulogy; no laudable ſacrifice an animating incentive. We ſtrengthened our defence of the goſpel, by ſhowing the infidel that WASHINGTON was a Chriſtian; and we put to ſilence the ſelfiſh traducer of patriotiſm, by reminding him of the patriot WASHINGTON. Men were animated to be juſt and ſincere, diſintereſted and humane, diligent and frugal, modeſt and brave, not only becauſe it was right and wiſe, but becauſe it was to follow WASHINGTON.

Is there a good man in the civilized world, is there a good man in our country, who will forbid us to weep over this departed worth? who will refuſe to mingle his tears with ours? Is there a bad man who is not obliged to reſpect, if too inſenſible to partake, our ſorrow? Think not thou ever lovedſt thy race or country, if this event does not make thee ſolemn. Dream not of loving thy GOD, if the benefactors he has lent are reſigned without reluctant ſorrow; nor let any untouched heart claim that SAVIOUR, who wept at the tomb of his friend. Let there be no wonder nor deriſion in the moſt thoughtleſs, becauſe a grateful people are penetrated with grief, and exclaim with anguiſh, "How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed!

He who choſe out our way, and ſat chief, and dwelt as a king in the army, as one that comforteth the mourners," is turned to duſt. Is it nothing to you, all ye who paſs by? Behold and ſee, if any nation has bemoaned a man like this man! Suffer us, ye moſt unmoved ſpectators, to dreſs our altars and perſons in the habiliments of grief; nor deem our feelings extravagant, if nature itſelf appears to ſympathize, and wear a general face of mourning; if the luminary of day ſeems to ſhed a ſaddened beam, and the darkneſs of evening to thicken around us with a deepened gloom.

But let not our melancholy ſenſations be unaccompanied by that thoughtfulneſs and reſignation, which reaſon and religion require. Does no ray of conſolation break through the cloud, which this event has ſpread upon our land? Our Chief is dead; but our GOD lives; the GOD, who made him great and good, and demands our praiſe; who ſhakes the props of human truſt, and exacts our ſubmiſſion; who, extinguiſhing one light, enkindles others, and encourages our confidence.

Our leader in peace and war is dead; but his counſels and his example will never die. His body is lodged in the dark receſs of the tomb; but faith follows his immortal ſpirit into the region of eternal day! Whilſt then you feel, ſubmit; whilſt you mourn, be wiſe. Is it all we owe to the Author of events, to lament over affliction? Is it all we owe to the ſubject of our preſent grief, to pay him funeral honours?

With pious awe and gratitude, let us regard the conduct of Divine Providence, in his commanding talents and virtues, his great and beneficent actions, and his proſperous fortune. Let us be inſtructed by his counſels, guided and animated by his example, and let us rejoice in the hope of his reward in heaven.

In the plan of Providence, a few are made diſpenſers of bleſſings to many; and when great events are deſigned, great men are furniſhed to conduct them to their iſſue. America was to paſs through the tumult

of war, and the revolution of empire, to national independence; and, having ſecured independence, was to erect an efficient frame of government upon the ruins of her former eſtabliſhments. In fulfilling this awful, though glorious deſtiny, amid the convulſive movements of a mighty ſtruggle, the ferment of the popular mind, the diſorder attendant on the proſtration of old inſtitutions and cuſtoms, amid the trials and hazards of a war with power abroad and anarchy at home, how ſhould ſhe eſcape ſubjugation or ſubverſion, without not only many ſages and many heroes, but without ſome conſpicuous leading character, to be a rallying point for diſcordant parties, "to chooſe out her way, to ſit chief, to dwell as a king in the army," as a comforter of the feeble and deſpondent! This guardian angel kind Heaven beſtowed in WASHINGTON. In him, the bloſſoms of the ſpring had promiſed the future harveſt.

At the early period of twenty-two, in a difficult embaſſy, and in the blood-ſtained field, he had diſplayed the prudence of age united to the ardour of youth; and already it was predicted that the heroic Colonel WASHINGTON would render ſome eminent ſervice to his country.

When, at the commencement of our late revolution, the American armies required a chief; a unanimous choice ſelected him for the perilous diſtinction. He held this command till he had conducted us through the darkneſs, perplexities, and ſuffering of our pilgrimage into the promiſed land of independence and peace, and then laid down his cumbrous honours. When the ill-jointed fabric of our union was falling to the ground, he preſided in that aſſembly which projected an edifice more compact and ſtrong, adapted to afford a ſhelter from the ſtorms always gathering in our troubled ſky.

When the new government was to begin its courſe, pledging his dear-bought fame, he took the helm, and again embarked on the ocean of events. Being twice elected head of the nation, with his characteriſtic moderation he avoided the diſtinction which he was

certain to receive, and returned to the leiſure and obſcurity of a private ſtation; where, having for forty-five years lived for his country, he might, during the remnant of his days, live for himſelf. But

> "Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
> Not light them for themſelves."
>
> "Spirits are not finely touch'd
> But to fine iſſues."

A name and an influence like WASHINGTON'S, Providence would not ſuffer to be unemployed, in a period, when all dear and ſacred to man, is put in hazard by the madneſs of innovation, of revolution, and of conqueſt; and when even this remote region was called to partake of the vial of wrath poured out upon the nations of the Old World. The ſpirit of reſiſtance to Gallic injury and inſult was kindled, and WASHINGTON pronounced it a genuine flame; believing, that the "cup of reconciliation had been exhauſted to the laſt drop." He would not think he had done enough for his country, whilſt any thing remained to be done. He obeyed the call to the chief command of the army of defence, not deſiring to hang up his armour whilſt his country had an enemy; as ready to place the helmet on his ſilvered head, and to bare his aged breaſt to the wounds aimed at her peace and freedom, as he ever had been to devote the ſtrength of his youth and the energies of his manhood to her cauſe.

It is the ſad conſolation of grief, to contemplate the excellencies of thoſe we have loſt. When we trace this full-orbed character in war and in peace, in public and in private life, we are ſtruck with all thoſe qualities, which could render him eſtimable and amiable in the peculiar ſituations in which he was called to act. The hiſtory of his long military command, is the hiſtory of a mind, dignified in ſentiments, calm in dangers, large in views, clear in foreſight, ſafe in counſels, and abundant in reſources; of caution to plan, and patience to toil, with vigour to execute; of a rigid economy, joined to a becoming liberality; of a perſe-

verance which never relaxed, of a conſtancy which never yielded.

Who was ever in his preſence without feeling that he was made to overawe and command mankind? In whom did the neareſt approach and moſt familiar intercourſe weaken reſpect? Inſolence was checked before him, and even his enemies compelled not only to expreſs but to feel veneration.

He ventured upon a command of infinite hazard; and was ſelf-poſſeſſed in the moſt trying and deſperate ſituations. Whilſt Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, which he has immortalized, evinced his contempt of perſonal danger, where it was proper to expoſe himſelf; we ſee the comprehenſion and foreſight of his mind, and the ſafety of his counſels, in his care to obtain the beſt advice; in his adapting his meaſures to his ſituation and reſources; in the facility at expedients which he ever manifeſted; and in the mode of warfare, which he adopted and purſued, in defiance of ignorant and credulous clamour, and at the hazard of his own popularity; a mode, leſs ſplendid than wiſe, leſs flattering to the ambition and ardour, than indiſpenſable to the weakneſs of his army. It was his object, throughout the conteſt, to act on the defenſive, where attack was hazardous; to tire out the enemy by delay, when it was impoſſible to overpower him by force; and never to riſk the cauſe, at the expenſe of prudence, to gain the empty though captivating praiſe of valour.

He gave all his time, from the moment he roſe, till he retired to ſhort reſt, to the multiplied duties of his ſtation. With his "mind conſtantly on the ſtretch, his feelings often wounded, and innumerable events happening contrary to his wiſhes and expectations," he never loſt his affection to the cauſe. Obliged to maintain a perpetual ſtruggle with every ſpecies of difficulty, he was never the victim of "traitor doubts" or diſheartening fear. Unſubdued by fatigue, undiſturbed by diſappointment, undaunted by danger, he

kept on his courſe, till the glorious work was done, and his country was free. At this moment, he enjoyed and ſeized the opportunity of diſplaying that moderation and firmneſs, which had marked every act of his military life. An army victorious, yet unrewarded; ſucceſsful for a country which ſeemed unable or indiſpoſed to uſe ſucceſs for its own benefit or that of its defenders, might be made the inſtrument of an ambition, that was capable of being diſguiſed by the plea of juſtice. But ſuch an army, in the eſtimation of the unaſpiring WASHINGTON, could confer no higher honour on themſelves or their leader, than to ſerve and ſuffer for their country without any compenſation, if it could not be obtained by regular means. Under his auſpices they retired from the field of war, which had produced them only laurels, conſenting, with their illuſtrious General, to loſe the ſoldier in the citizen.

In peace as in war, we contemplate in WASHINGTON a highly finiſhed character. Often are the brilliant qualities of the warrior ſhaded with the deep vices of the man; for the unprincipled may be fired with thirſt of military glory: But his heroiſm was the heroiſm of virtue, not of ambition. His fortitude was firmneſs of ſoul to do his duty, not the energy of ſelfiſh and unlawful paſſions. Hence was this man uniform and conſiſtent throughout; and his virtues, excited by principle, were the tenor, not the impulſe, of his ſoul. What a noble diſintereſtedneſs did he ever exhibit! His life was a continual ſacrifice of inclination to duty, and of every mean conſideration of ſelf-love to public good. How did he hazard his fortune, his character, and his life, in taking the command of our ſmall, ill-provided, and tranſient armies, in a conteſt, in which the difficulties were innumerable and the reſources moſt inadequate, the reſponſibility vaſt, and the iſſue awfully uncertain? Could the moſt audacious malice charge with any inordinate bias from private feelings, him, who never employed his power to advance a relative, but who was known, in appointments, to ſacrifice

his perſonal ſentiments to the deſire of getting the beſt talents into office; him, who refuſed all the opportunities of adding to his private fortune by his public ſervices; him, who having reached the haven of hope, at the concluſion of his military command, conſented, by accepting the Preſidency, to embark on a ſea more turbulent than war itſelf?

In this man was a collection of virtues, which aſſimilated his character not to the general face of the heavens, which ſhows here and there a ſcattered ſtar, but rather to the crowded galaxy, which exhibits an uninterrupted brightneſs. In every ſituation and exigency, which afforded ſcope, we ſaw him prudent, honeſt, and firm; diligent, methodical, and ſelf-poſſeſſed; dignified, modeſt, and pious.

He practiſed not leſs ſecrecy as a General and Stateſman, than frankneſs as a man; as cautious in determination as decided in action; not leſs deſirous to avail himſelf of the knowledge and opinions of others, than accuſtomed to make a reſult purely his own. Unwilling as he was to provoke oppoſition, it was yet in vain that a miſguided or factious majority endeavoured to obtain his acquieſcence in their uſurpation of the executive power. Ever paying much deference to public opinion, in vain was he aſſailed by an unexpected and almoſt univerſal clamour, when the intereſt and honour of his country required him to ſanction a foreign treaty. "I confide (ſays he) that ſudden impreſſions, when erroneous, will yield to candid reflection. While I feel the moſt lively gratitude for the many inſtances of approbation from my country, I can no otherwiſe deſerve it, than by obeying the dictates of my conſcience." It was to be expected that a man ſo capable of governing others, would be able to govern himſelf. We are told, that his paſſions, by nature ſtrong and irritable, were brought by diſcipline, into complete ſubjection; ſo that he, whom original conſtitution diſpoſed to turbulence and vindictiveneſs, appeared the pattern of equanimity and forbearance. What modeſty

joined with greatneſs, diſtinguiſhed this extraordinary man! Alive to character, keenly ſenſible to virtuous praiſe, the plaudits of a nation and a world were yet never known to elicit from him one ſpark of vanity, or to raiſe one emotion of pride. The virtues of our departed friend were crowned by piety. He is known to have been habitually devout. To Chriſtian inſtitutions he gave the countenance of his example; and no one could expreſs more fully his ſenſe of the Providence of GOD, and the dependence of man. "When I contemplate (ſaid he) the interpoſition of Providence, as it was viſibly manifeſted in guiding us through the revolution, in preparing us for the reception of a general government, and in conciliating the good will of the people of America to one another after its adoption—I feel myſelf oppreſſed and almoſt overwhelmed with a ſenſe of the divine munificence: I feel that nothing is due to my perſonal agency in all theſe complicated and wonderful events, except what can ſimply be attributed to the exertions of an honeſt zeal for the good of my country." When we acknowledge GOD in the talents, virtues, and ſervices of the departed Chief, let us not overlook the hand of Providence in his proſperous fortune, diſplayed in the many favourable incidents of his life, in the conſtancy of the public affection and confidence, and in his death.

Of reſpectable anceſtry, he had yet no diſtinguiſhed predeceſſors to divide with him his glory; and no poſterity to preſent a mortifying declenſion; ſeeming to come occaſionally into the ſyſtem, like a new orb in the heavens. Born to affluence, he was enabled to diſclaim any emoluments from office. Inhabiting the ancient territory, reaſons of ſtate dictated his elevation; and renowned for the military ſkill and valour of his youth, no one appeared a fair competitor for the high command with which he was inveſted. In the perſon of the hero, we look for ſome correſpondence to his mind and character. The tall and proportioned ſtature, the dignified and graceful port, the grave

and noble countenance of WASHINGTON, were no unimportant advantages to a man deſtined to act his conſpicuous part. Turning our attention from himſelf to the events of his hiſtory, we are ſtruck with the ſignatures of providential agency. The finger of GOD is inſcribed on numerous incidents which occurred to aid his military command and his civil adminiſtration; to avert imminent dangers, to ſecond his own plans and to fruſtrate the plans of his enemies. His good fortune appeared in nothing more, than in the conſtancy of the public affection and confidence, amid all fluctuations of opinion and varieties of circumſtance. Probably no great man ever before poſſeſſed ſo ſtable and univerſal a popularity. How revered, how loved, how truſted! Whilſt the wiſe and good entertained for him an unbounded eſteem, the moſt unprincipled and unſuſceptible were impreſſed with awe. Ill ſucceſs did not ſhake the confidence and attachment of his country: Amid his reverſes it adhered to him, when any other man would have been forſaken. What weapons did not this ſupport of his countrymen put into his hands! In what impenetrable armour did it not incloſe his reputation! He wanted no guards to defend his life; no breaſtplate to repel the aſſaſſin's dagger; more guarded by the love and prayers of his country, than monarchs by myriads of armed vaſſals. When he travelled, admiring crowds thronged his way: illuminations, proceſſions, feſtivals, announced his approach; the bleſſings of a grateful people were heaped upon his head; and as he paſſed our ſtreets, "every eye gliſtened with rapture, and every heart ſwelled till it ſeemed too big for its little tenement."

Do not the angels weep that there were any voices which refuſed to join the notes of gratitude; any ears to which the melodious ſound was grating? GOD forgive and reclaim thoſe few enemies of virtue, who dared to pollute the ſpotleſs fame of WASHINGTON with the poiſonous breath of their calumnies. He ſleeps in that peaceful abode where their reproaches or praiſes

avail him not. But if they are not hardened againſt every ingenuous and penitential feeling, let their relenting hearts render that homage to departed, which they refuſed to living worth; let them mourn and deteſt that audacious ſpirit of party, which could prompt even the worſt man in the world to revile General WASHINGTON. May GOD forgive our nation thoſe factions, which, if they did not wound his reputation, wounded his peace, and filled his heart with anguiſh. In his ſtruggle with theſe factions, he appears with ſuperior dignity and goodneſs. We do not mention the dark plot, laid in the old Congreſs, to diveſt him of his command, and blaſt the laurels which encircled his brow; and which the indignant frown of public juſtice and gratitude confounded. It was in the execution of his office of firſt magiſtrate of the Union, that all the engines of domeſtic faction and foreign intrigue, were employed to weaken the hands of his adminiſtration. We remember the time, when the people ſeemed to abandon their own government and country, in their infatuated attachment to a former ally; when they ſeemed to be almoſt determined to hang their fortunes upon her will, and mingle their deſtinies with her crimes and follies; when an organized oppoſition to government, under the auſpices of a foreign incendiary, was trying all its reſources; when inſurrection was fomented in one part, and in all parts an ordinary commercial treaty was uſed for blowing the country into a flame. We remember WASHINGTON, at this awful criſis, preſiding in the tumult and directing the ſtorm. Vain were open and diſguiſed efforts to turn him from the courſe of impartial neutrality and juſtice, which he had reſolved to purſue. Great and generous ſpirit! who didſt never ceaſe to ſtudy our welfare. Not diſheartened by gloomy aſpects; not wearied by ſevere toils; thy diſguſt often awakened, and thy principles ſlandered; obliged to maintain a perpetual and ſometimes uſeleſs combat with ignorance, prejudice, and depravity, thou didſt never ſwerve from thy heroic purpoſe of ſecuring the glory

and happineſs of America. If we forget thee, then ſhall we forget that we have a country. When thy ſervices and ſacrifices fail to kindle gratitude, and thy bright example to inflame an emulous zeal, then will every ſpark of patriotiſm be extinguiſhed.

The good fortune of this man followed him to the grave. Divine favour diſtinguiſhed not leſs his death than his life. Suffering no debility from age, deſtined to conſume no days and nights in ſickneſs, with an untarniſhed fame, his ſun has ſet without a cloud.

But at this moment of feeling, or at any moment, who ſhall preſume to attempt to do juſtice to this overwhelming theme.

> "To thoſe who know thee not, no words can paint,
> And thoſe who know thee, know all words are faint."

His actions and fortunes will be glorious and immortal ſubjects for the hiſtorian, orator, and poet. When American literature ſhall have paſſed from its preſent infancy into old age, this theme will poſſeſs the freſhneſs of youth. The hiſtory of this hero will indeed be very different from that of vulgar heroes, of the Alexanders and Ceſars, the Cortes's and Charles's, whoſe greatneſs is as execrable as it is immortal. It will be the hiſtory, not of cities ſacked, of countries waſted, and empires ruined. His ſword was not ſtained with the blood of innocence, nor his conqueſts watered by the widow's and the orphan's tears. His trophies are the trophies of wiſdom and humanity, the peace, proſperity, and order of his country.

What an everlaſting debt of gratitude to Heaven, do his talents and ſervices impoſe on Americans; gratitude, not only for the national bleſſings which he was made to diſpenſe, but alſo for the honour which he conferred on human nature. What confidence do they inſpire in the future care of Providence to this favoured land; a confidence ſupported by a recollection of the wiſe and good men who ſurvive, to guide us in peace and in war. How deeply afflicted is every Chriſtian, every humane, every patriotic heart, that this firſt of

men is forever gone. Very pleaſant has he been unto us. We loved WASHINGTON, becauſe we loved our fathers and mothers, our wives and children, our liberties and lives. We loved him, becauſe he loved us to the laſt. He could not repoſe in the peace of the grave, till he had bequeathed us his parting counſel. With generous frankneſs, he admoniſhed us of our faults; with friendly caution, warned us of our dangers. O! let his leſſons be engraved on the tablet of our hearts, and made the ſtandard of our actions.

If happineſs is proportioned to our benevolence, and to bleſs is to be bleſt, how happy, how bleſt was WASHINGTON. The end of a life like his, when only pleaſing reflections aroſe from the paſt, and immortal hopes ſhone on the future, muſt be the foretaſte of heavenly enjoyments. Yet was not the happineſs of his laſt moments unmingled, when he thought of his beloved country. With anxious forebodings, relieved indeed by truſt in Providence, he inquired, "Will this people diſregard my affectionate counſel? Will they embitter ſocial intercourſe by party ſpirit; admit the poiſon of foreign influence; be diſtracted by domeſtic faction? Will they overlook the kind hand of GOD, which has conducted them from ſmall beginnings to a mighty empire? Will they loſe thoſe morals, without which laws are vain; and contemn religion, which exalts the individual, and bleſſes communities? Should this be their deſtiny, can heaven be heaven to me? O my countrymen! diſturb not my felicity hereafter, by the fear that the country, for which I have conſumed anxious days and watchful nights, for which I have toiled and ſuffered, prayed and wept, will ſport away their rights and bleſſings."

Are we determined that theſe foreboded evils ſhall not be realized? Then will the rulers of America call up the reſpected idea of the Father of his country, and govern themſelves by the eternal laws of juſtice, and the wiſe maxims of policy which he inculcated and practiſed; will ſhut their ears to the clamours of prejudice

and paſſion, and liſten only to the calls of public good. American warriors will turn their eyes to the path of glory which he trod, and ſwear to the GOD of Armies, that the land which gave them birth ſhall be a land of freedom, or a deſert.

Parents will teach their children to repeat his prudent maxims; to liſp his praiſes; to be excited to every generous purpoſe by the charm of his name.

Miniſters of religion, by their doctrines and lives, will withſtand the progreſs of that corruption in principle and practice, to which the minds and manners of men are perpetually expoſed.

American citizens, in the humbleſt ſtations, if they cannot, like him, be great and immortal on earth, may, like him, aſpire to be great and immortal in heaven, by the remembrance and imitation of his induſtry, order, integrity, and prudence, his diſintereſtedneſs and humanity, his piety and humility. Then, though he be dead, he ſhall yet ſpeak to ſucceſſive generations in their own wiſdom and virtues.

Unnerved is that hand, which hewed out our way to empire, and ſilent that tongue which ſpoke with ſweet perſuaſion. That eye which beamed benignity and truth, is cloſed in death; and that heart which throbbed for its country is preſſed by the clod of the valley. His power and glory, his wealth and magnificence are no more! for his military veſtments, he wears the livery of the grave; and for his ſplendid manſion, inhabits a narrow tomb! But he lives in his illuſtrious deeds: he lives in the affection of his countrymen; and we believe that his ſlumbering atoms will live again at the reſurrection of the juſt, united to the immortal ſpirit, and he will dwell forever in the paradiſe of GOD.

END.

I NO 61

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

A

ABBOT James,	*Billerica*	Allen Benjamin,	*Tisbury*
Abbot Henry,	*Bedford*	Allen Elijah,	*Medway*
Abbot Joshua,	*do.*	Alline William,	*Boston*
Adams Ebenezer,	*Boston*	Ames Fisher,	*Dedham*
Adams William,	*Chelmsford*	Ames Jonas,	*Boston*
Adie Thomas,	*Portland*	Andrews James,	*do.*
Aiken Joseph,	*Boston*	Andrews John,	*Newburyport*
Akeley Joseph,	*do.*	Archbald Azor G.	*Boston*
Alden Peter Oliver,	*Brunswick*	Athearn James,	*Tisbury*
Allen James A.	*Boston*	Athearn William,	*do.*
Allen Wilkes,	*Cambridge*	Avery John,	*Boston*

B

Baker David,	*York*	Boit Henry,	*Boston*
Barrell Joseph,	*Charlestown*	Boott Francis,	*do.*
Barry James,	*Boston*	Bowen Nathaniel,	*do.*
Bartlett Montgomery,	*do.*	Bowers Josiah,	*Billerica*
Bardwell Reuben,	*Conway*	Bowers Benjamin,	*do.*
Barbour Joseph,	*Portland*	Boyd Robert,	*Portland*
Barrett William,	*Billerica*	Boyle John, jun.	*Boston*
Barker Daniel W.	*Newport*	Bradford Le Baron,	*do.*
Bass Jonathan,	*Randolph*	Bradley Josiah,	*do.*
Baxter Daniel,	*Boston*	Bradley Caleb,	*Falmouth*
Bayley Samuel P.	*Georgia*	Bridge Ebenezer,	*Chelmsford*
Bazin John,	*Boston*	Brooks Thomas,	*Medford*
Belknap Andrew E.	*do.*	Brooks Samuel,	*do.*
Bell Shubael,	*do.*	Brooks John,	*Boston*
Blake Thomas,	*do.*	Brown Seth T.	*do.*
Blair Victor, jun. 2	*do.*	Brown Samuel,	*Chelmsford*
Blake George,	*do.*	Brown John C.	*Boston*
Black Moses,	*Quincy*	Bulfinch Samuel,	*do.*
Blaney Joseph,	*Boston*	Burrill James,	*do.*
Blackman Unite,	*Dorchester*	Butterfield James,	*do.*
Blaney William,	*Roxbury*	Butterfield Abraham,	*do.*
Boardman Darius,	*Boston*	Butler Thomas,	*Tisbury*

C

Cabot George, *Brookline*
Cabot Charles, 2 *do.*
Cade Peter, *Boſton*
Callender John, *Waſhington City*
Carr William, *Tiſbury*
Carter John, *Boſton*
Champney John, *Roxbury*
Chandler Peleg, jun. *N. Glouceſter*
Chapin Joſeph, *Boſton*
Chaſe Salmon, *Portland*
Chaſe Abraham, *Tiſbury*
Clark Samuel, *Boſton*
Clark Nathaniel, *do.*
Clap Daniel, *Worceſter*
Clary Ethan A. *Aſhfield*
Coates Ezra, jun. *Boſton*
Cobb David, *do.*
Cobb Mathew, *Portland*
Cochran William, *Boſton*
Codman Charles R. *do.*
Collins Joſeph, *Aſhfield*
Cook Levi, *do.*
Cook William, *Auguſta, Georgia*
Coolidge William, *Boſton*
Coolidge Cornelius, *do.*
Coverly Samuel, *do.*
Crane Abijah, jun. 2 *do.*
Crocker Allen, *do.*
Crocker William A. *Taunton*
Croſby Henrietta, *Boſton*
Crooker Benjamin, *Plympton*
Croſby Joel, *Boſton*
Croſby Oliver, *Billerica*

D

Dana Daniel, *Newburyport*
Davis Charles, *Boſton*
Davis Eleanor, *do.*
Davis Cornelius, 6 *New-York*
Davis John, *Boſton*
Davis Daniel, jun. *Portland*
Davis John, *Tiſbury*
Davenport Benjamin, *Boſton*
Davenport Samuel D. *do.*
Davidſon James, *Bath*
Dawes Thomas, *Boſton*
Dawes Thomas, *Roxbury*
Dearbon Nathaniel, *Boſton*
Deane John, *Standiſh*
Deering James, *Portland*
Delano Philip, *New-Braintree*
Devotion John, *Boſton*
Dexter Jonathan M. *Billerica*
D'Happart Joſeph L. *Surinam*
Dickenſon Azariah, *Boſton*
Dickenſon David, *Aſhfield*
Ditſon Joſeph, *Boſton*
Dix John, *Cambridge*
Dix Joſeph, *Boſton*
Dodd Timothy, *do.*
Dodge Abner, *do.*
Dorr John, *do.*
Doyle William, *do.*
Duncan Robert, jun. *do.*
Dunham Cornelius, *Tiſbury*
Dunbar J. *Scituate*

E

Eaton William B. *Boſton*
Ebeling *Profeſſor*, *Hamburg*
Eddy Zachariah, *Providence*
Elliſon James, *Boſton*
Emery John, *Exeter*
Endicott James, *Canton*
Everett Moſes, *Dorcheſter*

F

Farley Ebenezer, *Boſton*
Faxon John, *Newport*
Fellowes Nathaniel, jun. *Havana*
Fellt William, *Medway*
Fenno Samuel, *Boſton*
Field Bohan P. *N. Yarmouth*
Flecher William, *Chelmsford*
Foord Jazariah, *Milton*
Foſter Boſſenger, jun. *Cambridge*
Foſter Rachel, *Boſton*
Fox John, *do.*
Fox Daniel, *Portland*
Freeman Samuel, 2 *do.*
Furneſs William, *Boſton*

G

Gardner Samuel, *Boſton*
Gardner Benjamin, *Newport*
Geyer John W. *Boſton*
Geyer Wm. B. *Charleſton* (S.C.)
Gilleland William, *New-York*
Gleaſon Benjamin, *Boſton*
Gloyd David, *Abington*
Goodwin Ozias, *Boſton*
Gore Stephen, jun. *do.*
Gorham William, *Gorham*
Goſs Guſtavus A. *Rumford*
Gould Lewis, *Billerica*
Granger Frederic, *Boſton*
Greenleaf Thomas, *do.*
Greenwood William P. 2 *do.*
Gregg William, *Portland*
Grew Henry, *Boſton*
Groſevenor Daniel B. *Paxton*
Gurley J. W. *Boſton*

H

Harris William, *Boſton*
Hartſhorn Oliver, *do.*
Haſkell John, *do.*
Haſkell Abram, *Lunenburg*
Haſkins John, jun. *Boſton*
Hayden Benjamin, jun. *Braintree*
Hays Moſes M. *Boſton*
Hays Judah, *do.*
Henſhaw William, *Leiceſter*
Hill Jeremiah, *Biddeford*
Hill Thomas, *Boſton*
Higgins David, *Boſton*
Hopkins James D. *Portland*
Hort Robert S. *Newport*
Howe Stephen, *Boſton*
Howe John, *Roxbury*
Howe James, *do.*
Hudſon Barzilla, *Boſton*
Hunt Samuel W. *do.*
Hunter William, *Charleſt.* (S.C.)
Huſe Enoch, *Boſton*

I J

Ilſley Iſaac, *Portland*
Ingerſoll Benjamin, *Boſton*
Ingraham Joſeph H. *Portland*
Janes Samuel, *Boſton*
Jewett James, *Portland*
Johnſon Alfred, *Freeport*
Johnſon Lewis, jun. *Savannah*
Jones Ebenezer, *Tiſbury*
Jones Samuel, *New-York*
Jones Timothy, *Berlin*
Judkins Moſes S. *Kingſton*

K

Kane James, *Albany*
Kahler Jeremiah, *Boſton*
Kellogg Elijah, *Portland*
Kennedy Thomas, *Boſton*
Kettell Andrew, jun. *do.*
Kidder Thomas, *do.*
Kidder Ephraim, jun. *Billerica*
Kidder John, *do.*
Kilton Jonathan, *Boſton*
Knapp George, *do.*
Kneeland William, *do.*
Kolloch Lemuel, *Charleſt.* (S.C.)

L

Langford Arthur, *Boſton*
Langley Samuel, jun. *Roxbury*
Leeds James, *Brookline*
Lewis Archelaus, *Falmouth*
Lewis Ebenezer, *Boſton*
Lincoln Benjamin, *Hingham*
Little John P. *Gorham*
Longfellow Stephen, *Gorham*
Look Samuel, *Tiſbury*
Look Elijah, *do.*
Lopaus Andrew, *Boſton*
Lord Nathaniel, *Ipſwich*
Lovett William, *Boſton*
Luce Ezekiel, *Tiſbury*

M

March Pelatiah, *Otisfield*
Marſhall William, jun. *Boſton*
Marſton David S. *do.*
Martin William, *Portland*
May Samuel, *Boſton*
Mayhew Nathaniel, *Chilmack*
Mayo Jeſſe, *Boſton*
Mayo Ebenezer, *Portland*
M'Intire George W. *Boſton*
M'Neill William H. *do.*
M'Cleary Samuel F. *do.*
Melville Allan, *do.*
Melville Thomas, *Boſton*
Mero Richard, *do.*
Meſſinger Daniel, *do.*
Meſſinger Henry, *do.*
Metcalf Luther, *Medway*
Miller Samuel, *Boſton*
Miller Phinehas, *Charleſt.* (S.C.)
Morſe Jedediah, *Charleſtown*
Morſe Abner, *Medway*
Morrill Eliſha, *Waltham*
Moulton Ebenezer, *Boſton*
Munſon Iſrael, *do.*

N

Nolen Hervey, *Boſton*
Norwood John G. *do.*
Newell Jonathan A. *Littleton*
Nevers Elijah, *Boſton*

O

Oliver Francis J. *Boſton*
Oliver William, *do.*
Otis Cuſhing, *Scituate*

P

Packard Hezekiah, *Chelmsford*
Palmer John H. *Guildford* (Ver.)
Paine Elijah, *Aſhfield*
Parker Samuel, *Boſton*

Parker John R. *Boſton*
Parker Samuel, *Billerica*
Parker Stephen, *do.*
Parker Joſeph, *Chelmsford*
Parker Daniel, jun. *Boſton*
Parry Richard, *do.*
Parſons Nehemiah, *do.*
Pemberton Ebenezer, *Billerica*
Phillips Joſhua, *Aſhfield*
Phillips James, *Boſton*
Piper Nahum, *do.*
Poignand David, *Roxbury*
Pomroy Zadock, *Boſton*
Poole James, *Portland*
Poor Moſes, *Boſton*
Price Ezekiel, *do.*
Proctor John, *do.*

R

Randall Silas, jun. *Stow*
Renaud A. *Boſton*
Rhodes Amos, *Lynn*
Richards Joſeph, 2 *Boſton*
Richardſon James, *Virginia*
Richardſon Thomas, *Billerica*
Richardſon Jacob, *do.*
Richardſon Joſiah, jun. *Chelmsford*
Richardſon Jacob, 14 *Newport*
Richmond Edward, *Stoughton*
Robinſon Edward, *Dorcheſter*
Robinſon James, *do.*
Robinſon James, *Lynn*
Rumrill Samuel, *Boſton*
Ruſſell Samuel P. *N. Yarmouth*

S

Saliſbury Samuel, jun. *Boſton*
Sandford Thomas, *Portland*
Sandford David, *Medway*
Sargent Daniel, jun. 2 *Boſton*
Saville James, *Glouceſter*
Sawyer Artemas, *Boſton*
Shaw Noah, *do.*
Shaw Joſiah C. *Newport*
Skinner William S. *Boſton*
Sleeper Jonathan F. *do.*
Smith Sylvanus, *do.*
Smith Joel, *Lincoln*
Smith John, jun. *Boſton*
Smith John K. *New-Glouceſter*
Smith Peter T. *Windham*
Southgate Robert, *Scarborough*
Southgate John, *Leiceſter*
Spalding Rufus, *Tiſbury*
Stedman William, *Lancaſter*
Stimſon Jeremiah, *Boſton*
Stone Micah, *Andover*
Storer Ebenezer, *Boſton*
Storer Woodbury, jun. *Portland*
Storrow Thomas W. *Boſton*
Stowell Daniel, *Paris*
Stuart Jonathan, *Portland*
Sturgiſs Nathaniel R. *Boſton*
Sylveſter Luther, *Scituate*
Symmes William, *Portland*

T

Tenney Samuel, *Exeter*
Thacher Joſeph W. *Boſton*
Thacher Peter, jun. *Boſton*
Thayer Samuel M. *do.*

Thayer Stephen, *Boſton*
Thayer Ebenezer, *do.*
Thayer Minott, *do.*
Thomas Sylvanus, *do.*
Thomas Robert B. *Sterling*
Thomas Iſaiah, 12 *Worceſter*
Thomas Iſaiah, jun. *do.*
Thompſon Thomas, *Boſton*
Tilden Joſeph, *do.*
Tilton Joſeph, *Exeter*
Tolman James, *Dorcheſter*
Touro Abraham, 3 *Boſton*
TownſendThos.Hubbard, *Weſton*
Trevett S. R. *Marblehead*
Tucker Abel, *Framingham*
Tucker Nathaniel, *Boſton*
Tucker Daniel, *Portland*
Tuckerman Guſtavus, *Boſton*
Turner Jonathan, *do.*
Tyler Joſeph, *do.*

V

Veeder Volkirt S. *Albany*
Voſe Peter Thacher, *Auguſta*
Voſe Solomon, *Northfield*
Voſe Charles, *Auguſta*, D. M.

W

Waite Stephen, *Portland*
Waite John, *do.*
Walter Thomas, *Boſton*
Watſon George, *do.*
Webb Nathan, *do.*
Webber Samuel, *Cambridge*
Weſt Benjamin, *Boſton*
Weſt John, 12 *do.*
Wheeler Abner, *Framingham*
Wheeler W. *Lincoln*
White Daniel A. *Cambridge*
Whiting Samuel, *Billerica*
Whiting Phinehas, *Chelmsford*
Whitman Kilborn, *Pembroke*
Whitney John, *Boſton*
Whitney Amos, *do.*
Whittemore Samuel, *do.*
Whyte Oliver, *Peterſburg* (Geor.)
Wiggin Joſeph, *Boſton*
Willet Joſeph, *do.*
Williams Stephen, *Roxbury*
Williams Thomas, jun. *do.*
Wincheſter Ebenezer, *Boſton*
Woods Daniel, *do.*
Worth William, *Tiſbury*
Wyman Joſeph, *Roxbury*

1 NO 61

35/105